THE SEA
ITS HISTORY & ROMANCE
III

(*Macpherson Collection*)

NELSON BOARDING THE "SAN JOSEF" AT THE BATTLE OF ST. VINCENT, FEBRUARY, 1797
(From a Mezzotint in Colours by Daniell, after Singleton)

THE SEA

ITS
HISTORY AND ROMANCE

By

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CHAPTER I—THE FIRST REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Howe as First Lord.

The first thing to be done after the Treaty of Versailles was concluded early in 1783 was to reduce the British Navy to a peace footing, and the man to whom this very unpalatable and unpopular duty was given was Lord Howe, who had made a great name for himself during the war, and who was appointed First Lord in January, 1783. Whether he was the right man for this work may be open to some question, and there was certainly plenty of criticism at the time; but there is no getting away from the fact that the job was one that lent itself particularly to unfairness and corruption, and that neither of these charges could be laid at Howe's door. He was silent, ungracious and uncompromising, but he did his duty as he saw it, just as he tackled the tasks that were given to him during the American War, even when his sympathies were very different. His attitude is shown by his reply to a request for an officer to be transferred from one ship to another in order that he might be close to his home. "It is the first time I have heard of private convenience spoken about within these walls," he said, which shows what a big difference he had made to the Admiralty. The work was very distasteful to him, however, and in 1788 he obtained permission to retire, feeling that he could do it with a clear conscience.

Pitt and the Navy.

While Howe was carrying on his work, Pitt became Premier; and although this great statesman has often been given much credit for his understanding of the Navy and the good work that he did for it, during this period he was not at all in sympathy with his subordinates, and very often at loggerheads with them. Whether he deserves all the credit given to him is an open question, and, moreover, a question clouded with political considerations, but although he handicapped Howe in many ways, he was willing enough to help him in others, and between the two they contrived to carry out numerous improvements in the administration and land side of the Navy, improvements from which benefit was to result during the next war.

The Dutch Danger.

Although Britain enjoyed a period of peace after the Treaty of Versailles, it was threatened on more than one occasion. The first of these was in 1787, when the French assistance to the Dutch rebels caused the British administration to have grave fears for the neutrality of the Rhine delta. The King of Prussia was brother-in-law to the Prince of Orange and naturally supported his cause, so that the British came to an agreement with him and undertook to commission forty big men-of-war for his assistance. The French also commissioned ships and recalled those that were at sea, so that for a time it looked as though war might break out. Wiser counsels prevailed, however, and after discussing the matter at Paris a treaty was signed by which both countries agreed to pay off their fleets.

The Mutiny on the "Bounty."

In 1788 an event occurred which drew attention to the state of the Navy and which has been discussed practically ever since. This was the mutiny on the *Bounty*. The *Bounty* was a small storeship of only 215 tons, which was employed to collect bread-fruit plants in the Southern Seas and take them into the West Indies, where it was considered that they would form a new food supply. She was commanded by Lieutenant William Bligh, a rough, "tarry-breeks" officer of the old school, who was a magnificent seaman but who was totally unfitted by temperament to have command of a King's ship. He was the bullying type that one reads about in Smollett and Marryat, and the way he treated his men from the very beginning of the voyage was scandalous and should not have been tolerated in a convict ship. Not only were the men shamefully ill-treated in the worst of weather, but Bligh proved himself dishonest as well, and took possession of property to which he certainly had no right. Then he made the mistake of anchoring at Tahiti for several weeks, and the life ashore was in such sharp contrast to their misery afloat that when finally he weighed and commenced his old practices, the men were ripe for mutiny. Led by Acting-Lieutenant Fletcher Christian, a party of seamen who had been the particular mark of Bligh's ill-humour rose and seized the ship, securing the other officers. The mutineers did not ill-treat their prisoners in any way, and did not force any men to join them who were not willing, but the majority of the crew had already had such a bad time that they were willing enough, and it ended in Bligh and eighteen others being placed in the cutter with a supply of food, spirits and navigational instruments and left to shift for themselves. This treatment was in sharp contrast to the usual mutiny in those days, which was a most bloodthirsty affair, and also in very sharp contrast to Bligh's own treatment of his men. In commanding the boat he showed himself to be a magnificent seaman, and carried out the finest small boat voyage in the history of the sea. As soon as he reached home, by way of Batavia, the sloop *Pandora*, under Captain Edwards who was very much of the same kidney as Bligh, was sent out to search for the mutineers, who were expected to be in the Friendly Islands. Eventually thirteen mutineers were discovered at Tahiti, including some who had every claim to clemency. The manner in which Edwards treated these prisoners was a disgrace to the service and was downright torture. Christian and the other eight men had disappeared, and they were not discovered for many years afterwards. In 1813 Pitcairn's Island was visited by an American ship, who found the remnants of the mutineers and their descendants. They were later moved to Norfolk Island, which they still inhabit. Bligh was eventually promoted to flag rank, but all through his subsequent history, especially when he was made Governor of New South Wales, his brutality was his most conspicuous trait.

Riou in the "Guardian."

Another example of the Navy's magnificent seamanship, but displayed this time in more pleasing circumstances, occurred in 1789, when

Lieutenant Edward Riou—Nelson's "gallant, good Riou"—was in command of the naval convict ship *Guardian*. Falling short of water, he lay alongside an iceberg to obtain ice that they could melt down, but unfortunately a wave carried the ship against a submerged hummock and smashed her rudder, as well as causing a leak. Immediately afterwards a gale sprang up and the ship was leaking badly in the very worst circumstances. Riou gave permission to as many men as desired it to abandon the ship, but he himself was determined to stick to her to the last, and many of his crew were willing to try their luck with him. One of the boats foundered and her people were drowned, while the other was picked up by a merchantman after her crew had suffered terrible privations. The captain in the *Guardian*, on the other hand, contrived to keep her afloat, although she was leaking like a basket and was only supported by the empty barrels in her hold. In this condition, and with consummate seamanship, he contrived to sail her to Table Bay, Cape Colony, where he beached her, without having lost a single one of the men who had stuck to him and the ship.

The Nootka Sound Trouble.

In 1790 there was trouble with Spain owing to their having suddenly decided to support their claim to Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island by sending an expedition to eject the British traders there. Lord Howe came out of his retirement with the temporary rank of Admiral of the Fleet, and the Channel Fleet was brought up to some twenty-nine line-of-battle ships with a number of smaller craft. The threat was sufficient, and after six months the differences between the two countries were adjusted and the fleet paid off again.

The Personnel of the Revolutionary Navy.

In 1789 the French Navy was in a magnificent condition, and in the opinion of such an authority as Mahan was the most efficient of the day. Immediately after the Treaty of Versailles special attention was paid to gunnery and the training of seamen; nine big squadrons were kept in permanent commission and the Navy was in a position to send out expeditions of scientific value all over the world. The officers were, if anything, too homogeneous, for most of them were noblemen and preserved their caste in the service. On this account the Navy became suspect by the Republicans in 1790, for the officers did not join in the general enthusiasm for the Revolution. The Navy even refused to fly the Tricolour and stuck to the White Ensign under which they had fought so well, but finally conceded the point, flying the White Ensign with a small tricolour in the upper canton next the mast. Popular clubs were formed in all the naval ports and were soon at work against the Navy, but in spite of the fact that the Ministry did little to help them the officers remained firm, offering their allegiance to France just at they had done in the old days and taking little part in politics. Naturally, however, the discipline of the men soon began to break up and the noblemen began to emigrate, including many naval officers. By the law of April 29th, 1791, the old French Navy was entirely scrapped and

replaced by a new organisation. The Officers' Corps was re-organised from truck to keelson. Hitherto the officers had been divided into red and blue, the former having passed through the cadet stage and being almost without exception of noble family, the latter being men promoted to the rank of sub-lieutenant and unable to go further. By the new law everybody who had put in four years' sea time, either in men-of-war or merchant ships, could sit for an examination to qualify for the rank of ensign, while men who had served before the mast for six years, of which only one had to be in a man-of-war, could be promoted without any examination. At the same time a large number were brought in from the Merchant Service. The result of this was to break up the old Officers' Corps altogether; in 1792 there should have been 640 officers at Brest, but the whereabouts of 250 of them was unknown. Soon afterwards the Republicans passed a law against the old naval officers, and all who could not hide themselves or escape abroad were imprisoned.

The Junior Officers.

The manner in which junior officers were found for the French fleet was even more scandalous. Up to the rank of lieutenant they were elected, without any reference to their professional ability, and when Monge was Secretary of the Navy and had to promote seventy officers to the rank of Captain he was forced to make his first selection from the nominees of the political clubs. Ten was the quota granted to the Toulon Club, the worst of them, and all the nominees were of very doubtful efficiency. Finally the crew themselves had a good deal of say in the matter, and in many cases quietly disembarked the officers for whom they had no particular use.

French Naval Gunnery.

It was during 1792 also that the Republicans decided to suppress the magnificent corps of seamen gunners that had been specially organised in 1786 by Marshal de Castries. One can understand their objection to the naval officer on account of his loyalty to the old régime, but it is difficult to see why they disbanded this magnificent and useful corps, and moreover stubbornly refused to permit them to be reformed, replacing them in the Navy by ordinary sailors, most of whom had not even the qualification of full naval training, but had been brought in from anywhere. Admiral Martin's fleet at this time is typical. He himself was formerly a warrant officer who had been promoted above the heads of many others from a pilot of warrant rank. He had 12,000 men in his fleet, of whom 7,500 had never been to sea before, and in this connection it must be remembered that the real reason of many easy victories which were gained by the British lies in the fact that the French crews were too miserably seasick to make any defence. The early disasters of the Republican Navy caused the Convention to send down commissaries to conduct a full enquiry, and their verdict should be remembered by every maritime power: "Patriotism is insufficient to man warships."

(Macpherson Collection)

THE MUTINY OF THE "BOUNTY"
(ENGRAVING BY AND AFTER R. DODD, PUBLISHED 1790)

The print shows Captain Bligh in his shirt-sleeves being pushed off in the boat in which he made his wonderful passage.

(Macpherson Collection)

PART OF THE CREW OF H.M.S. "GUARDIAN" ENDEAVOURING TO ESCAPE IN BOATS AFTER COLLISION WITH AN ICEBERG
(ENGRAVING BY AND AFTER R. DODD)

In those days it was not by any means infrequent for ships to replenish their supply of water from an iceberg, a dangerous practice. Captain Riou got his ship and people to safety, whereas the boat parties suffered great hardship and some were lost.

(Macpher[illegible] Colle

SPANISH INSULT TO THE BRITISH FLAG AT NOOTKA SOUND, 1789

(Engraving after R. Dodd, Published 1791)

The action of the Spaniards in evicting British traders in Nootka Sound very nearly led to war.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

H.M. FRIGATE "LA NYMPHE" CAPTURING THE FRENCH FRIGATE "LA CLÉOPATRE," 1793
(ENGRAVING AFTER A PAINTING BY R. DODD DONE A FEW DAYS AFTER THE ACTION; PUBLISHED SEPTEMBER, 1793)

The action depicted was one of the many gallant single ship actions which marked the beginning of the revolutionary war.

The Outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

Britain had been nervous from the very beginning of the French Revolution, but in 1792 it became obvious that she was being dragged into an active struggle with the Republicans. Undoubtedly the fear that the revolutionary doctrines would be carried across the Channel had a good deal to do with the British attitude, but the war certainly would not have occurred had not the French decided in 1792 to annex the Southern half of the Rhine Delta and to seize Antwerp after the plans of Louis XIV. This was right against the existing Treaty, with the result that in the following year England joined the First Coalition which at that time consisted of Austria, Holland, Spain, Prussia, Portugal and Sardinia. British troops were sent across to the Low Countries, where they met with poor success, and it soon became obvious that it was upon the Navy that the country had to rely. There seemed to be little cause for anxiety on this score. The Peace of Versailles had left the fleet in a magnificent condition, and since then it had been maintained better than in any previous period of peace. Both in numbers and condition the British ships were superior to the French. As regard the personnel the situation was serious. The state of the French Navy in home waters has already been described. On the other hand on many foreign stations the ships were still maintained in magnificent condition, and the knowledge of the difficulties of their country had bound the French officers and men together in a wonderful spirit of patriotism. As soon as war with Britain became inevitable the French rulers made every effort to bring their fleet up to a state of efficiency, but the difficulties were great and they made many mistakes before their aim was eventually achieved. With her Allies at the outbreak of war Britain had about twice as many ships available as France, and one of the first things to be done was to reduce the superiority by dividing or defeating these allies.

The First Fight of the War.

Hostilities actually commenced on January 2nd, 1793, when H.M.S. *Childers* was fired at by the forts at Brest, and soon decided that it was wiser to stand away. It was not until over four months afterwards that the first real fight took place, when H.M.S. *Iris*, a 32-gun frigate, met the *Citoyenne Française* of equal power in the Bay of Biscay. The Frenchman was superior both in weight of broadside and in crew, but after an hour and a half's stiff fighting, during which she sustained far more casualties than her British antagonist, she decided that she had had enough of it and made away, having previously crippled the *Iris* far too much aloft to permit of her considering a pursuit. This was the first of the numerous single ship frigate duels which were one of the most notable characteristics of the war.

The Channel in 1793.

At the beginning of the war, in addition to the considerations already mentioned, the hands of the Republican authorities were to a certain extent tied by the knowledge that there was a very strong

Bourbon feeling in the country and that the Royalist *émigrés* were very ready to return in force at the first opportunity. This tied the available fleet to home waters instead of permitting it to cut up British commerce, as it would undoubtedly have done otherwise. Their Atlantic fleet was placed under the command of Vice-Admiral Morard de Galles, who collected it in Quiberon Bay. The British Channel Fleet was put under the command of Howe, whose policy of blockade was very much criticised. He maintained that a fleet had to keep its material in good condition, and therefore had as many ships as possible at anchor at Torbay with only a few frigates actually watching the French. His idea was that as soon as the French came out he would be in a position to meet them on equal terms instead of pitting worn-out foul ships against ships in the best of condition. The other school maintained that a blockade should be as close as possible, and that bad weather never hurt any fleet. Such men as Nelson, Jervis, and Duncan considered that the training that was obtained by constant sea time was worth any number of fast ships, and the Navy was inclined to agree with them. Lord Howe's policy, however, permitted the French Fleet to get back to Brest after having a mutiny off Quiberon, and certainly permitted a large number of ships to slip out and prey on British commerce when opportunity offered. Once or twice sections of the two fleets came into touch but never into actual conflict, and both the Navy and the public got very restive under such conditions.

Single Ship Actions.

The number of single ship actions mounted steadily, and most of them were worthy of note on account of the vigour with which they were fought. Among others may be mentioned the fight between H.M.S. *Nymphe* and the French frigate *Cléopatre*. Both ships mounted forty guns, but the British had some advantage in size and broadside, although she was inferior in crew. The British frigate was commanded by Captain Edward Pellew, later to make a great name for himself, while his French adversary was Captain Mullon, one of the most gallant officers in the French service. With Pellew was his brother Israel Pellew, who had not been given a ship of his own but was serving as a volunteer. For forty-five minutes they were at it "hammer and tongs," until the French ship was practically a wreck, and could only hope for success by boarding. Pellew saw the move, and in spite of the enemy's superiority in crew—she carried nearly eighty more men than he did—he boarded instead and carried the ship. Wounded to death, Captain Mullon was found attempting to eat the French signal code that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy, although as a matter of fact in his agony he had picked up the wrong paper and was destroying the commission that he had merited so well. Rather undue weight was given to the victory, and Captain Pellew was knighted, while Israel Pellew was promoted to Captain. The action scarcely deserved it, but it put both these distinguished officers on the ladder of promotion. About the same time the French 34-gun frigate *Embuscade* fought H.M.S. *Boston* (38) for an hour and three-quarters, until the British

ship was glad enough to withdraw. A little later in the year Captain James Saumarez in H.M.S. *Crescent* (36) engaged the 40-gun French frigate *Réunion*, and after a fight of over two hours captured her without a single loss to his own ship's company.

The Hoods.

A good deal of confusion arises over the numerous British naval commanders named Hood. They were all related, the first being Samuel Hood, who was the son of a Somersetshire cleric, born in 1724. He entered the Navy in 1741, and did well under Rodney and others, being promoted to Post Captain in 1756. He appears to have retired from the sea until Lord Sandwich, as First Lord, alienated a number of officers, and Rodney was unable to get good subordinates. Accordingly Hood was asked to go to sea again, and although he was by no means on a friendly footing with Rodney he accepted the invitation and added to an already great reputation. After the war he entered Parliament, and had a number of administrative offices, but as soon as the Revolutionary War broke out he was sent to the Mediterranean. He was thus in command at Toulon and carried on the campaign in Corsica. Promoted Admiral in 1794, he had no further commands at sea, but was Governor of Greenwich Hospital from 1796 until his death in 1816. Already an Irish peer he was created Viscount in 1796. His younger brother, Alexander Hood, born in 1727, also did remarkably well at sea. In 1793 he served as Second in Command to Howe, and for the work he did in the ever memorable action of the Glorious First of June, 1794, he was made Baron Bridport in the Irish Peerage, later receiving a peerage in the United Kingdom. From 1798 to 1800 he was in charge of the blockade at Brest, and in that year he retired, after having served fifty-nine years at sea. He was promoted to a Viscounty, and lived in quiet retirement until May, 1814. On the other side of the family there was another pair of brothers, Samuel and Alexander Hood, cousins to the foregoing, and born in 1762 and 1758 respectively. Alexander was the elder, and did well with Cook in his voyage round the world, but he missed many of his chances owing to ill-health. He was captain of H.M.S. *Mars* in her famous duel with the *Hercule*, and died as the sword of the French Captain was put into his hand. His brother, Sir Samuel, won his spurs in the West Indies, but in 1793 the way he took the *Juno* into Toulon under the impression that it was still under the control of his cousin and then got her out again, made him a popular figure. He survived all his relatives in the service, and died in harness in 1814.

Toulon, 1793.

When Lord Howe was given command of the Channel Fleet, Lord Hood was given the Mediterranean. At first it was indended that Sir John Jervis should reinforce him, but he was sent to the West Indies instead, so that Hood had to hold the Mediterranean and check the big fleet that the French had at Toulon with what certainly does not appear to have been an excessively large force. He arrived at Toulon

in August, 1793, with twenty-two ships of the line and a number of sloops and small craft. The French force in the port was very much more powerful, but a good many of the ships were under repair. The feeling in the town was very largely Royalist, and the Commander-in-Chief, Rear-Admiral Count Trogoff, was a warm supporter of the old régime. On this account it was not difficult to enter into negotiations with the French for the surrender of the port and shipping to the British, who agreed to hold it in the name of and on behalf of Louis XVII and undertook to return the French ships as soon as peace was concluded. Under those conditions the British ships were allowed to enter the port, and soon after a Spanish fleet, with a large body of troops, arrived. When Hood arrived he found that the town was not quite as strongly Royalist as he had been led to believe. In fact, opinion seemed to be fairly divided, and it was not long before he found himself in difficulties, not only with the French but also with the Spanish and Neapolitans, who were supposed to be his allies. All except the British speedily proved themselves to be entirely unreliable—in the case of the Spaniards there was open treachery and agreement with the French Republicans. Meanwhile, the Republican forces, which included Napoleon Bonaparte as a young officer of artillery, had subdued Marseilles and were marching on Toulon. All told, Hood had 16,000 troops, including the seamen that he had landed, but the line to be maintained was no less than 15 miles long, and very poorly defensible in many places. In such circumstances it is a wonder that he was able to put up as good a resistance as he did when the Republicans arrived and when he found himself deserted by all his allies. It is curious to note that, while Napoleon was bombarding from without, Nelson was in command of H.M.S. *Agamemnon* in the harbour. Finally it became obvious that the town would have to be evacuated, and careful plans were therefore made for the destruction of the port and men-of-war which could not be taken away. This was left to the Spanish, and it was done so badly that one cannot help thinking that they were in the pay of the Republicans, with whom they soon afterwards openly allied themselves. One of the ships which should have been destroyed was the *Duguay Trouin*, which, as H.M.S. *Implacable*, can still be seen at her moorings at Falmouth, having fallen into the hands of the British after Trafalgar. As soon as the Republicans gained the town an appalling slaughter of the non-combatant citizens began. Hood contrived to get away about 15,000 of them, but how many were killed during the next few weeks, either by the guillotine or by the firing party, cannot be estimated. The Republicans admitted to a thousand, but the number has been placed at ten times that figure.

The Escape of H.M.S. "Juno."

After the evacuation of Toulon H.M. 32-gun frigate *Juno*, under the command of Captain Samuel Hood, had a most extraordinary escape. Her captain had not the least idea that the British were no longer in possession of the town, and, arriving at night, he sailed straight into the inner harbour. In attempting to pass an anchored brig, his

(*Macpherson Collection*)

ADMIRAL LORD HOOD, 1724-1816

(From a Proof Mezzotint, by V. Green, after L. F. Abbott, 1795)

This portrait was painted and engraved shortly after Hood's operations at Toulon. He was made a Baron for his services under Rodney in the West Indies in 1782.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

H.M. FRIGATE "JUNO," CAPT. SAMUEL HOOD, ESCAPING FROM THE INNER HARBOUR OF TOULON ON THE NIGHT OF JANUARY 11, 1794

(From a Colour Aquatint, after R. Dodd, Published 1800)

Coolness and gallantry, combined with a large measure of luck, enabled Capt. (afterwards Sir) Samuel Hood, namesake and relation of Lord Hood, to save his frigate when her capture seemed inevitable.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE PORT OF TOULON, ABOUT 1776
(From a Contemporary Engraving, by Le Gouaz, after N. Ozanne)

Toulon has been the principal French naval port in the Mediterranean ever since the French had a Navy.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

CAPT. FAULKNOR IN THE "ZEBRA" STORMING FORT ROYAL, MARTINIQUE, 1794
(MEZZOTINT BY J. DANIELL, AFTER SINGLETON)

In the operations against Martinique in 1794 under Sir John Jervis, afterwards Lord St. Vincent, Capt. Faulknor won brilliant distinction by running his sloop close up to the fort and carrying it by assault.

ship ran ashore, and while he was engaged in getting her off he was boarded by two officers wearing the tricolour cockade. A midshipman having pointed out this obvious indication that the port was in enemy hands, he immediately seized them, cut his cable and made sail as quickly as he could. Luckily, his ship came off at the same time, and he left the harbour as quickly as he could under a hail of shot from the alarmed forts.

The Corsican Campaign.

As soon as he could spare the time Hood sent a small squadron under Commodore Robert Linzee, to Corsica to raise the French Royalist standard there. Large quantities of arms were distributed to the peasants, but the principal forts were strongly Republican, and with his small force Linzee could do nothing. However, he decided to attack Forneilli near San Fiorenzo, whose bay was protected by the Mortella Tower, the first one to be built. It mounted one 24-pounder and two 18-pounders, but after a frigate had given it a couple of broadsides its garrison abandoned it in a hurry. What they could have done, had they been so disposed, was shown when this same tower was again attacked in the following year, when its garrison was made of sterner stuff and determined to resist. It resisted the whole force of a considerable fleet and a big shore party for two and a half hours. In the end it forced the ships to retire, but was itself compelled to surrender by the land force. This magnificent defence, which really was wonderful considering the small garrison, so impressed British ideas with the power of mortella towers that, when invasion threatened, a number were built round the Kent and Sussex coast—the name having been corrupted to " martello " by that time—where they can still be seen.

Genoa and Spezzia.

Before the French fleet had a chance of sailing from Toulon, the British commenced to wipe up the odd ships which were about the Mediterranean. The 36-ton frigate *Modeste* was discovered at Genoa, which, although nominally neutral, was so admittedly and violently French that the British decided there was every excuse to attack. After a very smart cutting-out expedition the frigate was captured, and soon after the 38-gun frigate *Impérieuse* was taken in very similar circumstances at Spezzia, in spite of the efforts of the French to scuttle her.

The War in the West.

While the whole of France was in a state of chaos owing to the activities of the Revolutionaries, they were drawing a large part of their food supplies from the West Indies, and accordingly it was determined to attack their colonies there. Their convoys were very lucky in getting through, but small British colonial forces captured St. Pierre Miquelon and Tobago, although an effort to help the French Royalists at Martinique was a failure, and only led to a large number of these unfortunates being executed. In San Domingo the British were far more successful, in spite of the efforts of the French to raise an army of blacks and mulattoes against them. In India one French post after another was

compelled to surrender by the fleet under Rear-Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

Reorganisation of the French Fleet.

It was not long before the French authorities began to realise why they were fighting at a disadvantage, and set about a further reorganisation of the fleet. In spite of the fact that they had suffered from the lack of experienced officers, it was felt that they would suffer more from the presence of disaffected ones, and therefore everybody suspected of Royalist sympathy in any way was struck out. Lieutenant Louis Thomas Villaret-Joyeuse was promoted to Rear-Admiral at one step, and was given the command of the Atlantic Fleet in place of Morard de Galles. Deputé Jean Saint André interested himself in naval matters, and persuaded the National Convention to pass a disciplinary code of the most rigorous description. Any officer who lowered the tricolour before his ship was sinking was to be shot, and a similar punishment awaited most minor transgressors.

The Glorious First of June, 1794.

Mention has already been made of the criticism of Howe's system of maintaining a blockade, but in May, 1794, he was at sea on the look-out to intercept a huge French convoy from North America. On May 5th his frigates reported that the French Fleet was still at Brest, but on the 19th it had sailed. Howe had six ships detached, and he was naturally anxious of their fate in face of such a superior enemy, but on the 28th he managed to get in touch. There was a partial engagement on that day, and it is probable that an action would have taken place on the 29th had it not been for the questionable behaviour of the captain of H.M.S. *Cæsar*. Howe very nearly succeeded in cutting off a large part of the French Fleet, which was rescued by the skill of Villaret-Joyeuse. However he was in the position of having captured the weather gage for the forthcoming battle. Next day there was a fog, and the same cause prevented a battle on the 31st, but on June 1st both sides were ready and eager for the fight. The British admiral's idea was to let each ship pass through the French line and engage her opposite number to leeward, raking her opponent with a double-shotted broadside as he passed under her stern. Unfortunately this order was not carried out—and it must be admitted that it would have been a very difficult order to execute in the conditions of a battle between sailing men-of-war—and only six ships actually cut through in accordance with Howe's plan. The result was that the fight was soon a mêlée, but what it might have been is shown by the fact that the broadside that Howe's flagship, the *Queen Charlotte*, gave to the French flagship *Montagne* practically put that ship out of action at once. In earlier actions it has been shown how the superior team work of the French won them success after success, but in this they had no opportunity to exercise it, and in fighting yardarm to yardarm the British were decidedly superior. At the end of the day the British had taken six line-of-battle ships. A seventh had been forced to strike, but had been retaken by the French, and an eighth had struck, but had foundered almost imme-

diately afterwards. This was the 74-gun ship *Vengeur du Peuple*. The British saved the greater part of her crew before she went down, treating them with the greatest respect on account of the extraordinarily gallant defence they had put up against superior metal, but unfortunately a French deputy named Barère put forward a wonderful story of how she had gone down with her flag flying and all hands crying "Vive la Republique," and disdaining any help from their enemies. It was a lie from beginning to end, and naturally its detection detracted considerably from the well-earned glory of her people. It was denied by her captain Renaudin and all her survivors, but it was believed in France for many years afterwards. Howe was criticised severely for having fought without waiting to collect his detached squadron, but, on the other hand, the people were nearly delirious with joy at the victory. It was fought so far out to sea that it was impossible to give it a geographical name, so that it was promptly christened the "Glorious First of June," although Howe himself always protested very strongly against this title. At the time of the battle he was a man of sixty-eight, and scarcely quitted his quarterdeck for three days, so that at the end of it he had to be helped below, absolutely at the end of his strength.

The Capture of H.M.S. "Alexander."

Although the Glorious First of June did much to satisfy the public with the progress of the naval war, things were not invariably well for British arms. Not a few of the actions between small ships turned out disastrously, and in November H.M. 74-gun ship *Alexander*, escorting merchantmen, was overwhelmed by a French squadron and was compelled to strike. Captain Bligh was treated with the greatest consideration by Captain Renaudin, late of the *Vengeur du Peuple*, but the hardest part is that he had actually been promoted to Rear-Admiral when the action was fought. A short time before, H.M. 64-ton ship *Ardent* had been blown up with all hands off the Corsican coast, and a number of other ships had been lost, either by accident or enemy action.

Second Corsican Campaign.

In 1794 the second Corsican campaign was undertaken, but this was very much hampered by lack of troops. Captain Horatio Nelson of the *Agamemnon* was given command of the brigade of seamen that was landed. The French, who outnumbered the British and Royalist troops considerably, put up a stout resistance, but finally Bastia was taken, and with reinforcements from Gibraltar a move was made against the far more formidable position at Calvi. It was here that Nelson lost his eye owing to some sand that was thrown up by a round shot that fell at his feet, but he refused to report himself wounded. After a stout action the town was captured, with two useful frigates, and the town passed into the hands of the British. It was during this campaign that the fort or tower of Mortella put up the gallant resistance that has already been mentioned.

The West Indian Campaign.

It has already been mentioned that Sir John Jervis, who had been

ordered to reinforce the Mediterranean Fleet, was suddenly sent out to the West Indies. Combined operations on a large scale had been planned, the army being under the command of Sir Charles Grey. It was a triumph of cordial co-operation, very largely due to the personal friendship of the two commanders. The first result was the capture of Martinique. Saint Lucia, Guadeloupe and other French possessions followed in quick succession, but the French were not slow to retaliate, and soon recaptured Guadeloupe. This success encouraged the authorities at home to send out a big convoy to continue the work. Owing to the blundering of Captain George Wilson, of H.M.S. *Bellona* (74), this convoy got through, and with its help the French speedily recaptured several more of their possessions.

East Indiamen and the British Navy.

The East Indiamen had long been regarded as the reserve to the British Navy, but although they were frequently commissioned few if any of them were admitted into the regular service. In 1795, however, tonnage was so short that an exception was made, and several were purchased by the Navy. The best known of these is the *Glatton*, which was fitted out at Sheerness, armed entirely with carronades, 68-pounders on the lower deck and 42-pounders on the upper, 56 in all. Captain Trollope was given command of her, and she was sent down to patrol the North Sea, but before she had been long in commission she fell in with six French frigates, a brig and a cutter. The action started at ten o'clock on a July evening, the *Glatton* being surrounded and having to fight both broadsides at short range. The French attempted to board, but the 42-pounders on the upper deck loaded with grape caused terrible casualties, while the heavy guns on the lower deck smashed their sides. After a short action the French broke off the engagement, and the *Glatton* was far too much damaged aloft to follow them. Naturally enough the advocates of the carronade were very elated at this victory, but the experiment was not repeated.

The "Blanche" and the "Pique".

One of the most stubbornly contested and most famous single ship actions of the war was fought off Guadeloupe on January 5th, 1795, when the 32-gun frigate *Blanche*, under the command of Captain Robert Faulknor, met the 36-gun frigate *Pique*. The French ship had all the advantage, for she had a tonnage of 906, a broadside of 273 lbs., and a crew of 279 men, against her British adversary's tonnage of 710, broadside of 228 lbs., and crew of 198. The two ships fought at close quarters for hours, until the *Blanche* finally managed to get ahead of her adversary, in spite of the fact that her main and mizzen masts were down, and raked her without mercy. Captain Faulknor was killed as he was himself endeavouring to secure the Frenchman in this position. The ships fell apart and then got together again with the *Pique* across the *Blanche's* stern, where she could not get a gun to bear. Ports were made by the simple process of firing two 12-pounders through the stern planking, when the fight was continued on these apparently most

(*Macpherson Collection*)

EARL HOWE, 1725-1799
(From a Proof Mezzotint, by R. Dunkarton, after J. S. Copley, R.A., 1794)

Dour and ungracious, " Black Dick " was a great favourite with the seamen under him and a gallant fighter.

HOWE'S VICTORY OFF USHANT, JUNE 1, 1794: "L'ACHILLE" IN PORTSMOUTH HARBOUR
(One of a set of six Aquatints, by J. Wells, after R. Livesay, Published 1796)

L'Achille was one of the six prizes captured by Howe. The print, which belongs to a very rare set, shows the method of jury rigging after an action, and also shows the White Ensign with the Fleur-de-lis in the corner, which was the greatest concession that the French Royalists would make at that time.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

H.M.S. "SANS PAREIL"
(From a Contemporary Water-Colour, by Serres)

A French line-of-battle ship captured at the Glorious First of June and added to the British Navy under her original name.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE " THETIS " CAREENED AND REPAIRING AT GOSPORT, VIRGINIA
(From a Water-Colour by G. Tobin, 1795)

One of the great handicaps of the British naval campaign in the West was the lack of adequate docking facilities.

unequal terms. After five hours the *Pique*, with no less than 186 casualties, was finally compelled to strike. Although the British ship had suffered terribly, she only had 29 men down, but the death of her captain was a very real loss to the Navy.

H.M.S. " Diamond's " Feat.

It has already been recorded how H.M.S. *Juno* sailed into Toulon and contrived to get out again in safety, but the feat of H.M.S. *Diamond* in 1795 was the more remarkable in that it was entirely intentional. She was a frigate under the command of Sir William Sidney Smith, the man who spoiled Napoleon's destiny, and was ordered to reconnoitre Brest. Captain Smith interpreted these orders very thoroughly, and seeing three French men-of-war working into the port, he went in with them. The *Diamond* worked right into the harbour until she could see everything that she wanted to, and actually had the impertinence to run alongside a French line-of-battle ship which was in trouble and offer assistance, Sir Sidney speaking French like a native. For sheer impertinence the feat is almost unequalled in naval history.

Cornwallis and Villaret-Joyeuse.

In June, 1795, Vice-Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis, with five ships of the line and two frigates, had a narrow escape. He was hanging on to the skirts of a French convoy and had chased it into Belle Isle, when Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, with eleven sail of the line and eleven other warships, was sighted. This big force was mistaken for the convoy by Cornwallis, and it was not until he was quite near it that he realised what he was up against. Some of his slow sailers had to throw overboard their anchors and a lot of stores to improve their sailing, but Cornwallis kept his head and, fighting a rearguard action when necessary, withdrew his force in magnificent style. His retreat was regarded as a tactical masterpiece, and he got full credit for it. H.M.S. *Phæton*, one of his frigates, had something to do with his escape by sailing some miles ahead of her squadron and then frantically exchanging signals with a wholely imaginary force out of sight of the pursuing French.

Lord Bridport off Groix.

In June, 1795, Lord Bridport, brother to Lord Hood, won what can only be described as a very disappointing victory off the Isle of Groix. Bridport commanded the Channel Fleet in Howe's illness, and with fourteen sail of the line and a number of frigates he met Villaret-Joyeuse off Groix. The French were disappointed with the way Cornwallis had escaped from them only a short time before, and had some opportunity of retrieving their fortune, for the fleets were not by any means ill matched in point of numbers. Not all the British ships could come into action, but after the fight had gone on for some time they had taken three prizes, and Lord Bridport signalled them to discontinue the fight. This decision caused very bitter criticism both then and later, for it was thought that, had he hung on tenaciously, he might have captured the whole French fleet.

The Quiberon Expedition.

The expedition which Bridport had been escorting when he fought this action was destined for Quiberon. Commodore Sir John Warren was in command, with three ships of the line and six frigates, escorting a large transport fleet carrying nearly 3,000 French Royalists. They landed with very little opposition, and the fleet distributed arms to the Royalist population of the Peninsula, while the men-of-war assisted with their fire in the land operations. In the end poor co-operation and open treason wrecked the chances of the expedition, the key to the position was handed over by treachery, and an appalling massacre of Royalists followed. The fleet only managed to get away a comparatively small proportion of the original expedition and of the luckless local population.

The Retirement of Lord Hood.

Another misfortune which befell the Royal Navy at this time was the retirement of Lord Hood. The gallant admiral, who was then sixty-nine years of age and in very poor health, deserved well of the fleet if anybody did, and his one desire was to get back and do his best. After service in the Admiralty he was re-appointed to the command of the Mediterranean Fleet, but, learning that the French had contrived greatly to reinforce their navy in those waters, he applied for considerable reinforcements. These were refused, and on his insisting on their necessity he was ordered to strike his flag. This decision caused something like dismay in the fleet, Nelson writing: "The fleet must regret the loss of Lord Hood, the best officer, taking him altogether, that England has to boast of. Equally great in all situations which an admiral can be placed in." There was naturally considerable public outcry at the manner in which he had been removed, and as a sop the Admiralty appointed him Governor of Greenwich Hospital and promoted him to be Viscount Hood of the British peerage. He remained Governor until he died in 1816, in his ninety-second year.

The Battle of Leghorn, 1795.

In Hood's absence on sick leave the Mediterranean Fleet was commanded by Vice-Admiral Hotham, who maintained a very loose blockade of Toulon, and permitted the French to do very much as they liked. In March, 1795, he was lying at Leghorn with his fleet when he learned that the French were at sea on their way to Corsica. As a matter of fact, they were close at hand, and an action took place. The French fleet were greatly superior, but in the action that ensued, never of a very satisfactory character, the *Ca Ira* and *Censeur* were captured by the British. There were many who considered that Hotham should have taken many more prizes in the latter stages of the action, when the French were so scattered that only a portion of their fleet was pitted against his ships.

The Battle of Hyères (Cap Roux).

Some two months after the action off Leghorn, Hotham was reinforced by Rear-Admiral Man from England, with nine line-of-battle

ships. Nelson was detached with five ships to reconnoitre, and discovered the Toulon fleet at sea. He drew them on towards the main body as quickly as he could, but most of the ships were refitting, and Hotham was unable to put to sea in time to intercept the Frenchmen. He contrived to overtake them off the island of Hyères two days later and ordered a general chase when the French were attempting to get back to port. The action started as soon as the van British ship had come alongside the French rear. The French 74 *Alcide* soon struck, but just as the action was warming Admiral Hotham gave the order to discontinue it. There was great indignation in the fleet at this order and more than one captain hesitated before he obeyed it. Meanwhile the *Alcide* caught fire and eventually blew up with heavy loss of life, when the French fleet returned to Toulon and the British to Leghorn.

Reorganisation of the French Navy, 1795.

The first revolutionary organisation having proved hopelessly inefficient, a new one was tried, and in October, 1795, two laws were passed. The first one enacted that no merchant officers should be appointed to naval rank, secondly that in future all naval officers were to be trained as " aspirants," but as there were far too few commissioned ranks as it was, it was found impossible to pay off those who were already appointed to French ships, and these had to be left for some considerable time longer under the conditions which had done so much harm. Admiral Truguet was Minister of the Navy at this time, and carried out this reform, which, good in itself, was marred by his professional prejudices. For one thing he hated Latouche-Treville, who had done such splendid work for the service, so that he was shouldered out of the Navy, and in October, 1799, the " Moniteur " contained the following significant advertisement: " Latouche-Treville, formerly Rear-Admiral, 54 years old, with 42 years' sea service. On the disposal list since the Naples Expedition, where he was Commander-in-Chief at sea for two years, having seen his services refused by the Government, seeks for an engagement from shipowners fitting out privateers against trade." Soon after, however, Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul, stepped in and had this invaluable officer reinstated as Rear-Admiral.

The Levantine Convoy.

While Hotham continued to waste his opportunities, Nelson was setting a very much better example, for, being detached with a few ships, he carried out a number of particularly dashing minor operations and cutting-out expeditions. A further misfortune to British arms occurred in the autumn of 1795, when Hotham detached several ships to escort home to England a convoy of sixty-three sail from the Eastern Mediterranean. Soon after leaving Gibraltar this convoy was luckily divided into two, for one half of it fell in with a French squadron off Cape St. Vincent. The French prize *Censeur*, which was only jury-rigged, put up a gallant defence, but she was taken, together with thirty merchantmen out of the thirty-one in the convoy.

Holland Forced to Join France.

Meanwhile the French forces on land continued to meet with success, and had overrun Holland. Left with no alternative, she was forced to throw in her lot with the French and declare war on Great Britain, so that immediate preparations were made to attack her shipping and her colonies. Soon afterwards Prussia also made her peace with France, and except for a certain amount of help rendered by the remnants of the Alliance, Britain was left to carry on the war herself.

The Cape of Good Hope.

One of the first things to be done in the war with Holland was to attack the Dutch Colony in South Africa, which offered the British Navy an ideal base for its distant operations. An expedition, consisting of five ships of the line and two sloops, under Vice-Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone, was fitted out, with a small military detachment, and reached Simon's Bay in July, 1795. The Dutch were not generally enthusiastic for the alliance, and it was hoped that the colony would be abandoned on account of the manner in which they had suffered at the hands of the French. Proposals were therefore made to the Governor of the colony to place it under British protection until the fortunes of war should be reversed. He refused, however, and accordingly a mixed force of soldiers and marines seized the town. The Dutch withdrew towards Cape Town, and were followed by a landing brigade from the fleet. Meanwhile a fleet of East Indiamen with a large body of troops arrived, and in a very short time the whole colony had been surrendered to the British. Soon afterwards Commodore Peter Rainier, with a combined force of troops and seamen, took Trincomalee and then all the other Dutch settlements in Ceylon. Malacca, Cochin and other Dutch settlements in India soon followed suit. In the following spring Vice-Admiral Sir John Laforey captured the Dutch West Indian colonies of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, with a number of merchantmen and some small men-of-war. At about the same time Rainier, by then promoted to Rear-Admiral, finished his work in the Indian Ocean by taking the most valuable Dutch possession in the East Indies, with booty of immense value. An attempt was made in August, 1796, by a Dutch squadron to recapture the Cape, but they found a very much bigger squadron there than they expected and were forced to surrender.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

LORD KEITH, 1746-1823

(MEZZOTINT—PROOF BEFORE LETTERS—BY DANLOUX, AFTER SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, P.R.A.)

George Keith Elphinstone, a gallant seaman, who was exceedingly popular with his men, has been somewhat harshly criticised for certain failures in his career.

Macpherson Collection

H.M. PACKET "ANTELOPE" IN ACTION WITH THE FRENCH PRIVATEER "L'ATALANTE," IN THE WEST INDIES, DECEMBER 1-2, 1794)

(From a Coloured Aquatint by C. Rosenberg, after Lieut. T. Yates, R.N., Contemporary)

The British packet ships were lightly armed and were not supposed to go in for fighting, but on many occasions they were able to give the French privateers a warm reception.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

H.M.S. "MARS," 74, CAPT. ALEXANDER HOOD, BRINGING IN HER PRIZE "L'HERCULE," CAPTURED 21 APRIL, 1798

(CONTEMPORARY ENGRAVING BY AND AFTER R. DODD)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, 1735-1821
(From a Mezzotint—Proof, Early State—by J. R. Smith, after G. Stuart, Published 1797)

John Jervis, Earl of St. Vincent, was as great an administrator as he was a sailor. In a later state of this engraving an older head has been substituted.

CHAPTER II—ST. VINCENT AND NELSON

Sir John Jervis in the Mediterranean.

Britain's prospects in the war did not appear to be bright when Sir John Jervis was ordered to the Mediterranean at the end of 1795, not as Second-in-Command, as had been intended before he was sent to the West Indies, but as Commander-in-Chief. His position was certainly a difficult one. France's Toulon fleet alone was as powerful as his, while in Spanish waters there were enough French ships to turn the balance decisively. The Spanish Navy was a powerful one, and although Spain had not yet definitely thrown in her lot with France, there were ample indications that French sympathy was growing in the Peninsula. Jervis had therefore to walk very warily, for a mistake or a rash act would have had disastrous effects upon British interests. But he was never a man to act rashly, and had none of Nelson's gift for taking chances. Of his subordinates Commodore Horatio Nelson was by far the most promising, and although the two men had little or nothing in common, they trusted one another implicitly and worked in perfect co-operation. He also had some very smart frigate captains, and the Mediterranean fleet was certainly at that time the most keenly efficient in the whole British Navy. For some months no very decisive actions took place, but in September, 1796, Spain definitely allied herself with France and signed a treaty of very explicit naval co-operation. Although this added very greatly to Jervis's difficulties, it did at least tell him exactly where he stood; but unfortunately just at this time he suffered from the actions of Rear-Admiral Man. Man had sailed east with Jervis with practically no stores in his ships, so that, when he could least afford to lose him, the Admiral had to send him back to Gibraltar to victual. His ships were urgently needed, and he had definite orders to rejoin his flag as soon as he had victualled. But instead of this he called a council of war as soon as he reached Gibraltar, and, deciding that the Franco-Spanish odds were too great, sailed straight away to England and left his Admiral to take his chances. Byng was shot for far less, but Man was merely told to haul down his flag. This defection, coupled with Napoleon's successful Italian campaign, forced Jervis to evacuate Corsica and finally to abandon the Mediterranean altogether, in spite of the great British interests that he knew to be at stake.

Nelson in the "Minerve."

At this time Commodore Nelson temporarily commanded a frigate division with his broad pennant flying in the 38-gun ship *Minerve*. In company with H.M.S. *Blanche*, she fell in with two Spanish 40-gun frigates, *Sabina* and *Ceres*, at Cartagena in December, 1796. The *Minerve* and the *Sabina* were tolerably evenly matched, but it was nearly two hours and three-quarters before she compelled the Spaniard to strike, putting Lieutenant Thomas Masterman Hardy, later to be Nelson's famous flag-captain, on board with a prize crew. Meanwhile the *Blanche* engaged the *Ceres*, but a French division of line-of-battle ships coming up at that moment, both prizes had to be abandoned, and the two British frigates were lucky to escape themselves.

The Western Atlantic.

A French division under Rear-Admiral de Richery sailed for the Western Atlantic in the early autumn of 1796, knowing that the British force there was infinitely inferior to their own. At St. John's, Captain Thomas Graves, of the 32-gun frigate *Venus*, threw up such formidable shore defences, manned by his crew, that the French left the port alone, and, working to the southward, cut up the British fisheries on the Grand Banks, destroying their shore stations and burning a large number of ships. At the same time a smaller division was detached to destroy those along the Labrador coast. The French squadron then returned to Rochefort, well pleased with the damage that they had done. Meanwhile Rear-Admiral Christian had taken a British force to the West Indies, where, in co-operation with land forces, he recaptured St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada, while a force from Jamaica, under Rear-Admiral William Parker, attacked San Domingo.

Hoche's Irish Expedition.

As was usual when England was at war, Ireland was at this time chronically disaffected, and in 1796 the French saw their opportunity of embarrassing their enemies by fomenting trouble there. After a good deal of bargaining it was agreed that 16,000 French troops should be landed in Ireland to enable the rebels to break away from British rule, this force to be under General Hoche. The French naval forces were to be concentrated at Brest under Vice-Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, de Richery's fleet of seven sail from Rochefort and Villeneuve's five ships from Toulon being ordered to join him there. As soon as the first part of the expedition was landed, Villaret-Joyeuse was to take his force into the Indian Ocean to turn the scale there and to assist the Dutch and the native ruler Tippoo Sahib against the British. The French Admiral was very keen on this eastern expedition, so keen that he was suspected of being more interested in that than he was in the original venture, and was accordingly relieved. Meanwhile, further delay was caused by the failure of the Rear-Admirals to join their chief at Brest, and eventually it was decided to transport 18,000 men without them. Admiral Morard de Galles, who had been replaced by Villaret-Joyeuse some time before, now reassumed command, but the ships were so crowded that it was found impossible to carry many stores, and the expedition was foredoomed to failure if anything delayed its progress. Several things did this : firstly, a confusion of plans, and, secondly, bad weather. Vice-Admiral Sir John Colpoys was in charge of the British ships which were ordered to intercept the expedition if they could. The French fleet having become divided, Rear-Admiral Bouvet obeyed his instructions of cruising off Mizen Head for five days until he was given other instructions. He anchored in Bantry Bay and prepared to land his troops, but the weather became so bad that the ships were driven to sea and could not get near the coast again until their supplies were exhausted. Eventually the whole fleet went back to France, having achieved nothing, some of the ships having gone to one point of the Irish coast and some to another. The 74-gun ship *Droits de l'Homme*

was engaged by the frigates *Indefatigable* and *Amazon*, but beat them off. Soon after the action the *Amazon* became a wreck on the French coast, and the *Droits de l'Homme*, badly crippled by her vigorous antagonists, was also wrecked in the Bay of Audierne, when nearly a thousand of her people were drowned.

The Battle of St. Vincent, 1797.

Meanwhile Sir John Jervis in the South was waiting for the reinforcements promised from England. An accident to H.M.S. *St. George* reduced his fleet to ten sail of the line, but the arrival of Rear-Admiral William Parker brought it up to fifteen and sufficient frigates for his purpose. The Spanish fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, twelve frigates and numerous small ships, under the command of Admiral Don Jose de Cordova, and was under order for Brest to join the French and Dutch fleets for a grand invasion of England. In the meantime he was to call in at Cadiz to refit and victual his ships, as the dockyard at Brest already had its hands full. Jervis was ignorant of the fact that his enemy was to call at Cadiz, and in spite of the fact that he had a very much inferior fleet he determined to wait for him at Cape St. Vincent. As luck would have it, bad weather drove the Spaniards beyond their port, and they were sighted by Nelson in the *Minerve*, who immediately took the news of their presence to St. Vincent. Jervis, with his fifteen sail of the line, was ready for him. Calder, the captain of the fleet, presented his report as soon as they were sighted: "There are eight sail of the line, Sir John," and Sir John was very well satisfied. Presently he came back. "There are twenty sail of the line, Sir John." "Very well, sir," was the reply. "There are twenty-five sail of the line, Sir John." "Very well, sir." "There are twenty-seven sail of the line, Sir John." "Enough of that, sir. The die is cast, and were there fifty sail I would go through them." Whereupon Captain Hallowell, his flag captain, forgot all about discipline, and, slapping him on the back, cried: "That's right, Sir John, and by God! we'll give them a damn good licking."

The Spanish fleet was in poor order, and before it could collect itself it had been cut into two distinct parts, eighteen ships in the one and nine in the other. Jervis turned on the eighteen to windward, leaving the leeward ships to wait, with the assurance that they could not make up to the assistance of their friends. The Spaniards were still superior by three ships, but Jervis kept himself in such a position that they could not join their friends. As the battle progressed, however, the head of the Spanish line got its chance of breaking away, and commenced to fly on the wind, but Commodore Nelson in the *Captain*, in spite of the very direct orders that he had received, threw his ship in front of the nine ships that were trying to escape, and was speedily joined by four others. It was another case of Nelson's genius for disobeying orders, but it was a moment of very great danger for him. The *Captain* was a 74-ton ship, but seeing the *San Nicolas* (80) foul of the *San Josef* (112) he immediately lay alongside her and boarded, being ably assisted by the detachment of the 69th Regiment that he had

embarked as marines. The *Captain's* men soon had possession of the ship, but, not content with that, Nelson immediately led his boarders over her deck and on to the giant *San Josef* alongside her. This ship was already being battered by H.M.S. *Prince George* on the other side, and soon found herself compelled to surrender to Nelson's boarders, who were in imminent danger of being killed by their friends' fire. This action was humorously described in the fleet as " Nelson's patent bridge for boarding three-deckers." At the end of the day the *San Nicolas*, the *San Josef*, the *San Ysidro* and the *Salvador del Mundo* were in British hands, while many of the surviving Spanish ships were in a very sadly crippled state. Next day the fleets were still in sight of one another, repairing damages, but the Spaniards had the wind and contrived to evade an action. As a result of this action Sir John Jervis was made Earl St. Vincent, with a pension of £3,000 a year, his subordinate admirals were made baronets, while Nelson was knighted, and had already been promoted to Rear-Admiral before the news of the action had reached home. It may be mentioned that on this occasion Lady Nelson wrote him saying that now that he was promoted, she hoped that he would not endanger his life by boarding, but would put the duty on to his subordinates, an instance of her misunderstanding of his nature which may go a long way to explain the subsequent differences between them.

The Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore, 1797.

At this time, when the situation on the Continent was still tense and when, in spite of the victory of St. Vincent, the position of Britain was still critical, the discontent in the fleet, which had been smouldering for years, broke out into active revolt. Although one cannot sympathise with the men for rising at that time, yet one cannot help blaming the authorities for the conditions that led up to the trouble. Early in 1797 a number of petitions were sent to Lord Howe from the fleet, but having examined them he decided, somewhat rashly, that they were all in the same writing and were not in any way representative, with the result that no notice was taken of them. When this was realised in the fleet at Spithead, preparations were made for a rising. When Lord Bridport ordered the fleet to sea on April 15th the whole fleet mutinied, put ashore such officers as were particularly unpopular and strengthened their position in every way. Vice-Admiral Sir Alan Gardner interviewed the mutineers, but unfortunately lost his temper, and narrowly escaped with his life. Realising by then that the matter was serious, Lord Bridport was empowered to inform the mutineers that a redress of their grievances had been granted and an amnesty. These grievances were very real, and showed that in many ways the fleet was in even worse condition than it was in the days of Charles II, and in very few cases had any real improvement been effected. Unfortunately the authorities were quite content to do things in their own time, with the result that at the beginning of May the seamen decided that they had merely been hoodwinked, and the mutiny was again active. On this occasion it was far more violent, and Lord Howe had to be sent down

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE CUTTING OUT OF THE FRIGATE " HERMIONE " AT PUERTO CABELLO BY BOATS UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPT. EDWARD HAMILTON, 24-25 OCTOBER, 1799

(From a Coloured Aquatint after R. Dodd)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

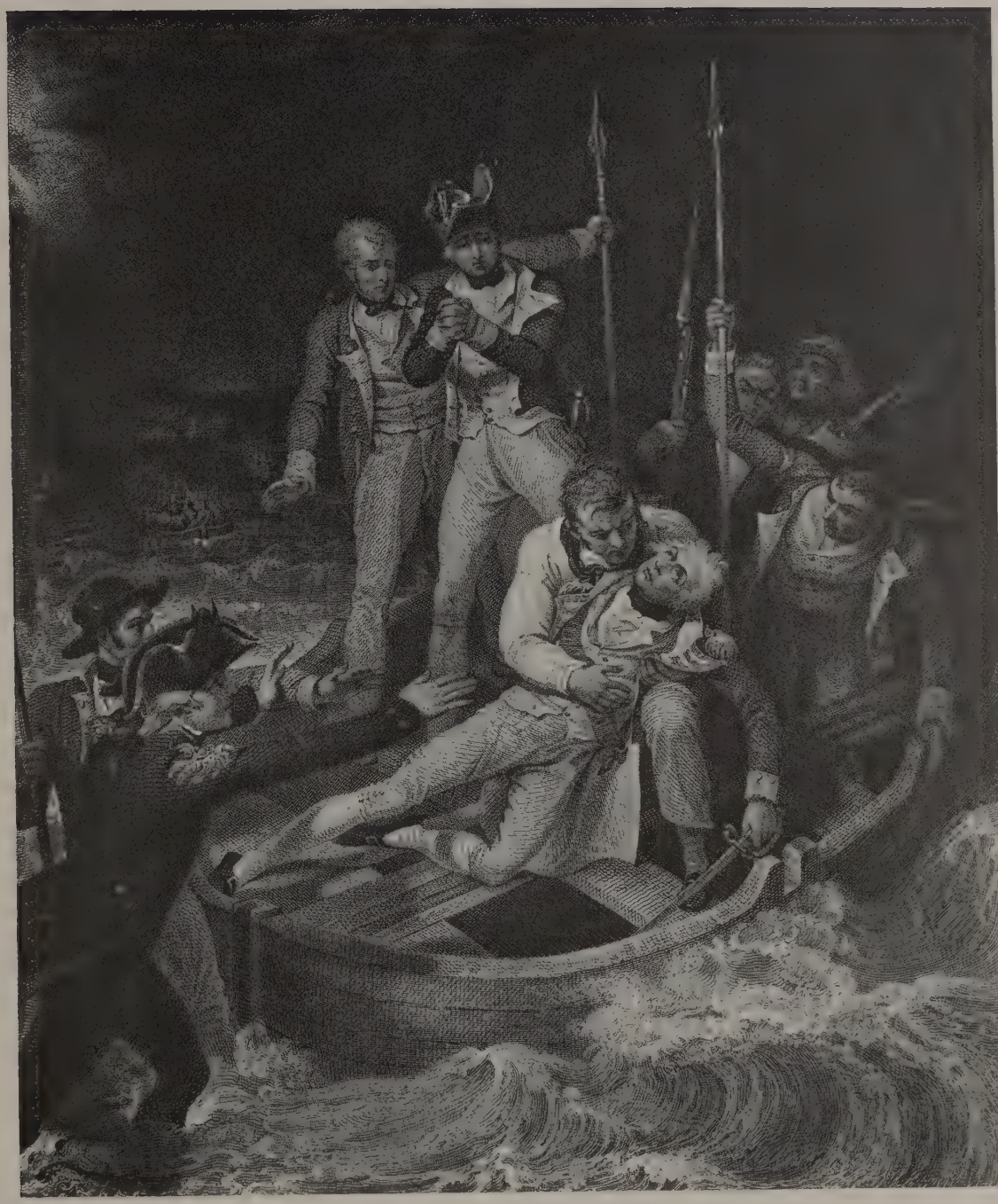
THE BATTLE OF ST. VINCENT, 14 FEBRUARY, 1797
(From an Aquatint in Colours by and after R. Dodd, Published June. 1797)

Fought against a superior Spanish force, the Battle of St. Vincent made the reputation both of John Jervis and Nelson.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

NELSON'S CONFLICT IN HIS BARGE WITH A SPANISH LAUNCH, CADIZ, 3 JULY, 1797
(Engraving by A. Smith, A.R.A., after R. Westall, R.A.)

In spite of his frail frame and poor physique, Nelson's courage was extraordinary, and he distinguished himself in more than one hand-to-hand fight.



(*Macpherson Collection*)

NELSON WOUNDED AT TENERIFFE, 24 JULY, 1797
(Engraving by J. Neagle, after R. Westall, R.A.)

A shot in the right elbow during the unsuccessful attack on Teneriffe caused the amputation of Nelson's arm.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE MUTINY AT THE NORE—A CONTEMPORARY CARICATURE
(ENGRAVING FROM A DRAWING BY CRUIKSHANK, PUBLISHED 1797)

BEFORE THE BATTLE OF CAMPERDOWN; THE "ACTIVE" CUTTER, SIGNALLING TO ADMIRAL DUNCAN IN YARMOUTH ROADS INTELLIGENCE OF THE DUTCH FLEET BEING AT SEA

(Engraving by E. Duncan after W. J. Huggins)

Macpherson Collection

THE BATTLE OF CAMPERDOWN, 11 OCTOBER, 1797
(From a Colour Aquatint—Proof before Letters—by Edy, after Cleveley)

Duncan's victory at Camperdown destroyed the power of the Dutch at sea for the time being.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE BATTLE OF CAMPERDOWN—DE WINTER SURRENDERING TO DUNCAN
(From a Mezzotint by James Ward, after J. S. Copley, R.A.)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

ADMIRAL VISCOUNT DUNCAN, 1730-1804
(From a Proof Mezzotint by James Ward, after J. Hoppner, R.A., 1798)

Of colossal stature and reputed at one time to be the handsomest officer in the British Navy, Duncan had just the bluff, irascible kindly nature that his portrait suggests.

from the Admiralty with full powers to treat and grant what he considered wise. Lord Howe was so popular and so straightforward in his dealings that the fleet was immediately satisfied and put to sea again.

Meanwhile things were more serious at the Nore, where the mutineers were led by one Richard Parker, a man of education who had served as a midshipman, had been disrated, and later pressed. His movement was frankly revolutionary, and for a time he blockaded London. After standing out for some time the great body of rebels finally surrendered on promise of pardon, until finally Parker and his few diehards were arrested. Parker was duly executed, but the others who were sentenced to death were pardoned after Camperdown, although many were flogged and others imprisoned. The improvements effected in the state of the seamen, however, were very great and tolerably permanent.

The Mutiny on the "Hermione."

Another unpleasant incident at this time was the mutiny of the crew of the frigate *Hermione*. Captain Hugh Pigot was a tyrannical officer who had certainly ill-treated his men, so that on September 22nd, 1797, off Puerto Rico, they rose and murdered him and most of his officers. They then took the ship into La Guayra, where they handed her over to the Spaniards, and by so doing disgusted the whole fleet. To get ahead of our story, it was in October, 1799, that the boats of H.M.S. *Surprise* put into the Venezuelan port of Puerto Cabello, and, in spite of powerful fortifications and a number of gunboats, succeeded in cutting out and recapturing the *Hermione*. For this gallant action Captain Hamilton was knighted.

Duncan and the Mutineers.

Admiral Duncan contrived to get away from the Nore with the greater part of his fleet to return to his duty of watching the Dutch coast, but the damage was done, and when he reached his station it was only to find that the majority of his fleet were rotten with disaffection. Eventually it came that only his flagship, the *Venerable*, and the 50-gun ship *Adamant* stuck to him. There was mutiny in both these ships, but he contrived to suppress it by his own wonderful personality and maintained the blockade, the *Adamant* exchanging signals with an imaginary fleet out of sight of the Dutch. There were 90 Dutch ships in the Texel, but Duncan carefully surveyed the channel and selected the spot where he would scuttle the *Venerable* in such a way that she would block it, remarking that he had taken the depth to a foot, and that if the ship was sunk his flag would still be flying above the water.

Camperdown.

As the summer progressed, Duncan's fleet returned, and he reinstated the blockade with its old efficiency. Early in October bad weather drove him from his station, and the Dutch took advantage of the opportunity to slip out, but a lugger gave him the information, and in a matter of hours he was back. The Dutch were delayed in hoping

for reinforcements from the Maas, which gave Duncan the opportunity of coming up with their ships under Vice-Admiral J. W. de Winter off the village of Camperdown. The Dutch had 15 sail of the line and 11 small craft, while Duncan had 16 liners and 8 small. Attacking in two lines, Duncan broke the enemy's line and a stubbornly contested action ensued. The result was that 10 Dutch ships were forced to strike and the naval power of Holland was broken for the time being.

Admiral Duncan.

The victor of Camperdown and the man who defeated the mutineers was a remarkable seaman in every respect. Reputed to be the most handsome officer in the Navy, he stood six foot four, and had colossal physical strength. As one may well imagine, he was apt to be hasty tempered, but there was absolutely nothing that was mean or ill-natured about his composition, and he was just the simple, straightforward, kindly seaman at the end of his career as he was when he began. He was born in 1731, and entered the Navy as a lad of fifteen. He was promoted to the rank of commander just before the Battle of Quiberon Bay, and going home for a new ship he missed the action, but before long he was distinguishing himself in many theatres. He had been flag captain to Keppel at Belle Isle, so that when Keppel and Palliser had their mutual courts-martial the Admiralty reckoned that he would be favourable to the former, and did all that they could to prevent his sitting, even going so far as to order his ship to sea. Having made a great reputation for himself as Captain, he was promoted to Rear-Admiral in 1787, became Vice-Admiral six years later, and full Admiral in 1795. He then became Commander-in-Chief of the North Sea, and it was in this capacity that he handled the mutineers of 1797 in such masterly fashion. Pitt put his opinion on record to the effect that "Although the Government was highly indebted to Admiral Duncan for his victory, the debt they owed him for his conduct during the mutiny was beyond all price." He was raised to the peerage as a Viscount, struck his flag for the last time in 1801, and died suddenly three years later. It was not until 1831 that the Government granted his son an earldom in acknowledgment of his services, a reward that might well have been given in his lifetime.

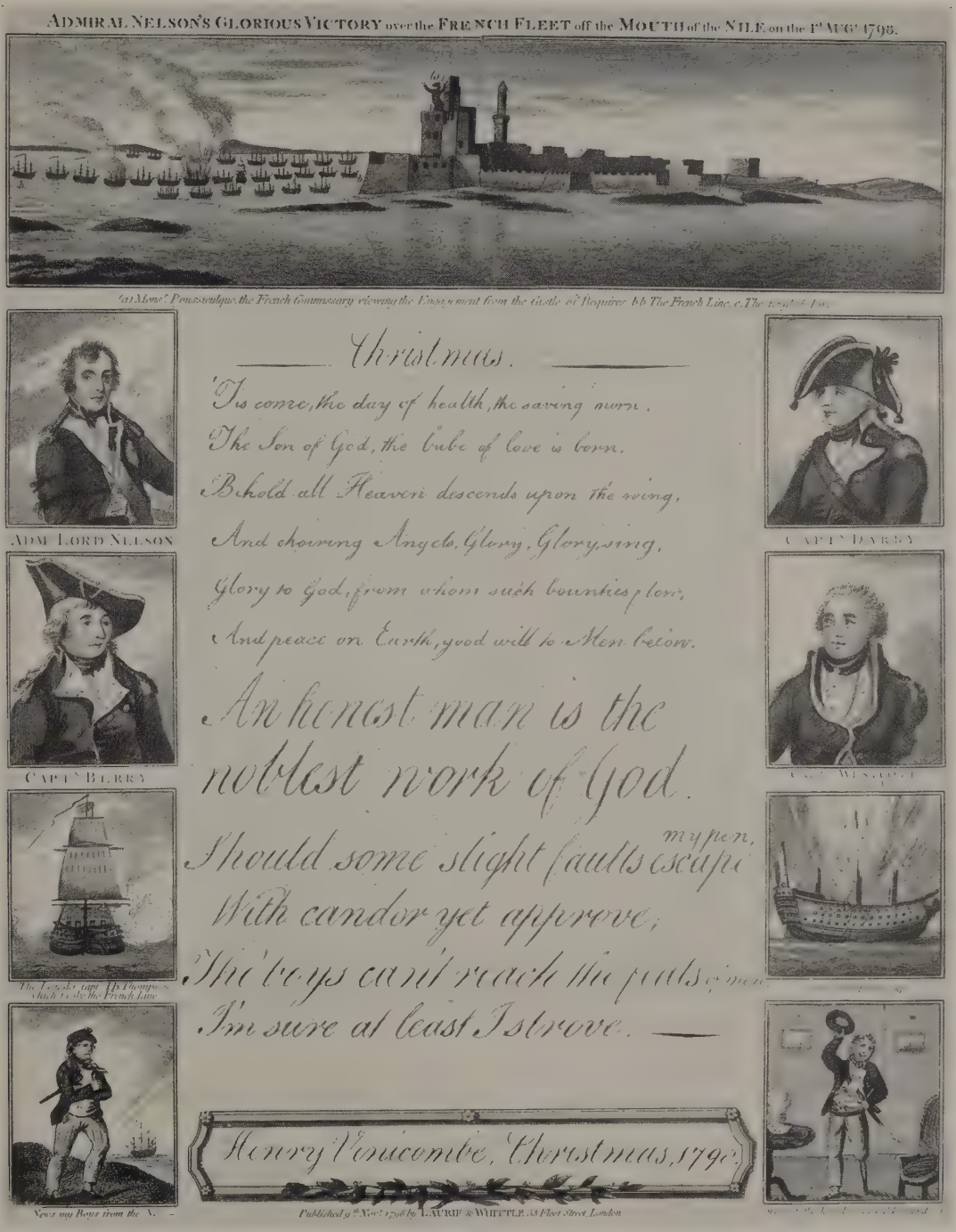
St. Vincent and the Mutineers.

Meanwhile, disaffected ships and men had also been sent down to St. Vincent's fleet, but he was not the man to tolerate mutiny for a moment, and immediately set about stamping it out. It began with an outbreak in the *St. George*, which was stamped out at once, and the Admiral was a little rash in congratulating the rest of the fleet on its fidelity. Within a few months it was obvious that the whole fleet were disaffected, and St. Vincent soon showed that he was not to be played with. H.M.S. *Marlborough*, Captain Henry Nicholls, joined St. Vincent straight from Spithead, where she had had a good deal of trouble, and a further outbreak occurred on the way out. The principal mutineers were court-martialled and sentenced to death, but Captain Ellison, who had replaced Captain Nicholls, was nervous of

carrying out the sentences, and informed St. Vincent that he was convinced that the ship's company of the *Marlborough* would never permit a man to be hanged from their yardarm. The interview took place on the quarterdeck of the *Ville de Paris,* and the officers standing round, who knew something of St. Vincent's temper, were on tenterhooks as to how the interview would end. The Admiral listened very attentively and then replied: "What? Do you mean to tell me, Captain Ellison, that you cannot command His Majesty's Ship the *Marlborough*? For if that is the case, I will immediately send an officer who can." He would not entertain any suggestion for precautions, and finally delivered his ultimatum: "That man shall be hanged at eight o'clock to-morrow morning, and by his own ship's company; not a hand from any other ship in the fleet shall touch the rope. You will now return on board, sir, and lest you should prove unable to command your own ship, an officer will be at hand to you who can." The men understood this sort of treatment, and in due course the man was hanged, although the matter gave the captain and all hands in the fleet a good many anxious minutes before it was settled. When St. Vincent finally saw him run up the yardarm he turned to one of his officers with the quiet observation: "Discipline is preserved, sir."

Lord Howe.

"Black Dick," as he was invariably known to the lower deck, was born in 1726, the second son of an Irish peer, Viscount Howe. While still a youngster he started out with Anson in the *Severn,* but she did not get round by Cape Horn, and so he did not have the advantage of the cruise round the world. He was then sent to the West Indian Station, where promotion was rapid owing to the climate, and his advancement was also helped by Court influence. His first command was the little sloop *Baltimore,* in which he served during the Jacobite Rising of 1745, and was badly wounded while tackling a superior French force. He was promoted to Post Captain next year, and the reputation that he had commenced to build up as a junior officer was steadily increased. He became an Irish peer in 1758, and four years afterwards was elected to Parliament. He saw considerable service in the Admiralty, and was in command of the North American Station when the War of American Independence broke out. A personal friend of Benjamin Franklin, he did all that he could to act as peacemaker, but his efforts were unavailing, and the entry of the French into the war kept him on the North American Station. He was nearly seventy when he won the battle of the Glorious First of June, having been created Viscount in 1782, and Baron and Earl six years later. He died in August, 1799, regretted by everybody who had ever come in contact with him, especially by the men of the fleet, who, although they recognised him as dour in the extreme, worshipped him for his justice and the fact that he never lost sight of their interests in favour of those who could help him more.


ADMIRAL NELSON'S GLORIOUS VICTORY over the FRENCH FLEET off the MOUTH of the NILE on the 1st AUG. 1798.
ADM. LORD NELSON
CAPT. BERRY
CAPT. DARBY
Christmas.
'Tis come, the day of health, the saving morn.
The Son of God, the babe of love is born.
Behold all Heaven descends upon the wing,
And chiming Angels, Glory, Glory sing,
Glory to God, from whom such bounties flow,
And peace on Earth, good will to Men below.
An honest man is the noblest work of God.
Should some slight faults escape my pen,
With candor yet apperove,
The boys can't reach the pubs in vain
I'm sure at least I strove.
Henry Venicombe, Christmas, 1798
Published 9th Nov.r 1798 by LAURIE & WHITTLE, 53 Fleet Street, London

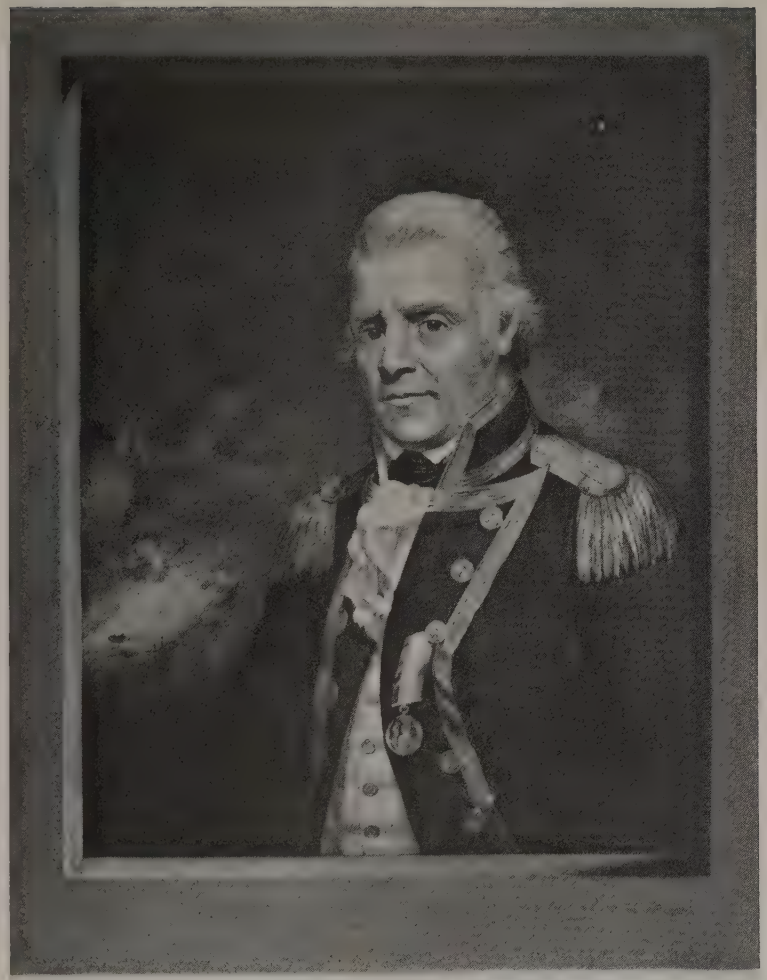
(Macpherson Collection)

THE BATTLE OF THE NILE—A CHRISTMAS PRINT

These patriotic prints were very popular in England at the time, the message being filled in by the sender.

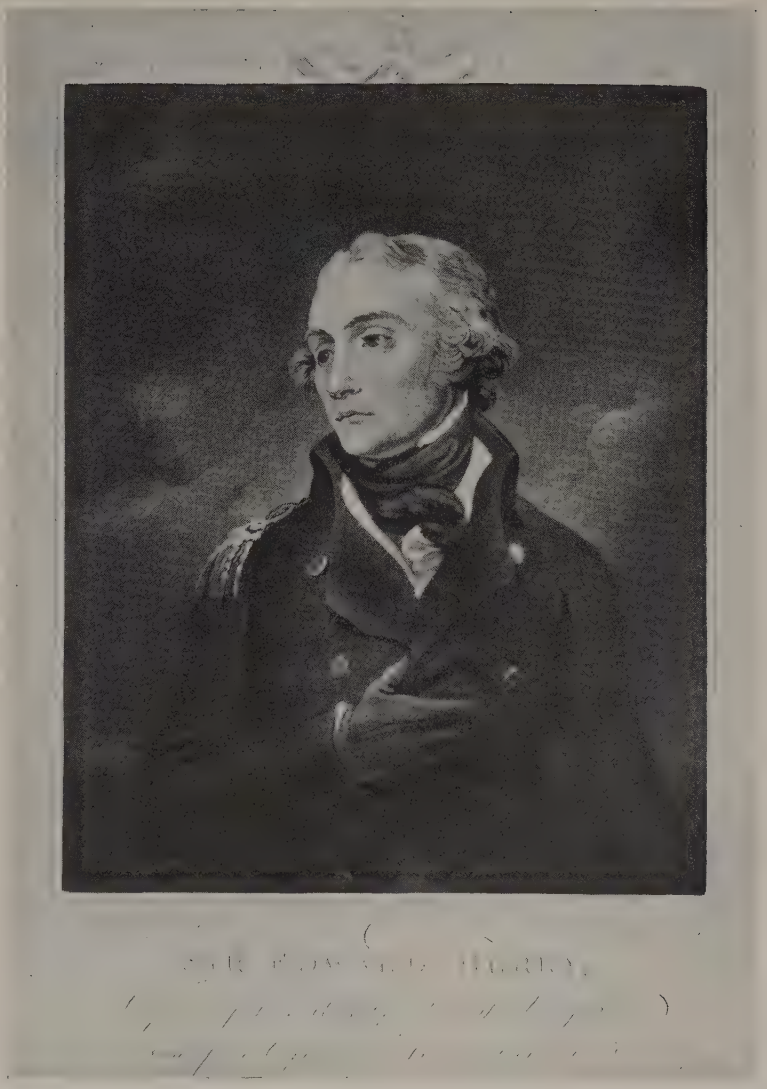
(Macpherson Collection)

THE BATTLE OF THE NILE, 1st AUGUST, 1798—THE MORNING AFTER
(From a Colour Aquatint by and after R. Dodd, Published 1799)



(*Macpherson Collection*)

SIR HENRY D'ESTERRE DARBY, 1750-1823
(Proof Mezzotint by Earlom, after Beechey)



SIR EDWARD BERRY, 1768-1831
(Mezzotint by G. Keating, after H. Singleton)

Darby's gallantry in leading H.M. 74-gun ship Bellerophon *against the 120-gun* L'Orient *at the Nile was one of the epics of the battle. Berry was Nelson's captain on the* Vanguard *in this battle; a gallant seaman, his appearance gives little suggestion of his hard fighting capacity.*

(*Macpherson Collection*)

REHEARSAL OF A FRENCH INVASION AS PERFORMED BEFORE THE INVALIDS AT THE ISLANDS OF ST. MARCOU ON THE MORNING OF [illegible]

Engraving after a [illegible]

A contemporary British cartoon designed to allay the invasion fears of the time, which were very real all over the country.

protection of the French batteries that were established along the coast. In spite of its strength Smith took it with H.M.S. *Diamond,* and landed 500 seamen and marines to hold it. Muskein attempted to recapture it with a division of his flat-bottomed boats in April, 1798, but two British frigates stopped the plan for the moment. Muskein therefore retreated and obtained a large reinforcement, and with 52 miscellaneous craft and a force of some 6,000 men he attempted to take the position. The island was defended with a number of guns borrowed from the fleet, and these opened such a hot fire that the French were glad to retire with the loss of several of their ships and casualties which were reported as amounting to 1,200 men.

Ostend.

In May, 1798, a disastrous expedition was undertaken against Ostend, the idea being that the lock gates should be destroyed and the canal blocked in order to prevent the passage of the large number of invasion craft that were being built at Flushing and were taken through the canal to Ostend on their way to Dunkirk. General Sir Eyre Coote was in charge of the troops, and Captain Home Riggs Popham in charge of the naval detachment. Arriving off Ostend, the weather was the worst possible for the venture, but it was determined to land the troops in spite of the fact that the batteries were giving the men-of-war a very bad time. When the commanders were satisfied that the lock gates and sluices had been destroyed—which, incidentally, was not proved—an attempt was made to re-embark the troops, but by then it was far too rough, and, being attacked by a very superior force of French, there was no alternative but an ignominious surrender.

The Irish Rebellion of 1798.

Hoche's Irish invasion of 1796 had proved a failure, but the rebellion of 1798 appeared to be too good an opportunity to miss, and accordingly the French made full preparations to take advantage of it. There was a good deal of delay in fitting out the expedition, which, considering that the outbreak had been originally manœuvred from Paris, caused considerable ill-feeling in Ireland. But finally about 1,100 troops with a little artillery were despatched under General Humbert. A second expedition from Brest was to follow later. Humbert's army was landed in Mayo, and, the ships immediately returning to France, it was soon obliged to surrender. The second invasion was more formidable in character, including 3,000 troops and a considerable force of frigates under the command of Commodore Bompart. The British patrol was soon advised of the expedition, and Commodore Sir John Warren was away in pursuit. Warren's heavier metal forced five French ships to strike, the *Hoche, Embuscade, Foudroyant, Coquille* and *Bellone,* but the remainder escaped for the moment, pursued by the British as well as they could manage. In the end only three of the smaller vessels reached France again.

Nelson in the Mediterranean.

As soon as he had recovered from his wounded arm and the somewhat rough amputation that followed it, Nelson was sent out to rejoin

St. Vincent, but immediately afterwards orders came for him to be detached to see what was going on in the Mediterranean, which had been abandoned by the British for some considerable time. With a small squadron consisting of the line-of-battle ships *Vanguard, Alexander* (recaptured from the French), and *Orion,* and the frigates *Emerald, Terpsichore* and *Bonne Citoyenne,* he had quite a formidable little force, which was in the pink of condition. He soon received news that the French Toulon fleet of 15 sail of the line was escorting a huge body of troops across the Mediterranean, and it was left to him to guess that there was an Egyptian campaign in prospect. Meanwhile the British squadron had been crippled by bad weather, and had to refit in a hurry; but although it was obviously dangerous for him to risk meeting the French, Nelson pushed on and reached Toulon with three ships and a small sloop. St. Vincent, however, sent ten ships of the line to reinforce him at the earliest opportunity, but unfortunately did not know that Nelson had been separated from his frigates, so that he was greatly handicapped by the absence of scouting craft. Considering that his force was now sufficient, Nelson set out in search of the French, and learned at Naples that the enemy had gone to Malta. Before he could reach there he received news that the island had fallen, and that the French had sailed to the eastward. Guessing Alexandria as their destination, Nelson arrived there at the end of June, but, finding no sign of the French, he returned to Syracuse. It was here that he met Lady Hamilton, who rendered valuable assistance in obtaining stores for Nelson's fleet. There were again indications that the French had gone to Alexandria, so that, as soon as he was re-victualled, Nelson returned there. On August 1st, 1798, he reached the city and found it crowded with transports, but no sign of the French fleet, which, as a matter of fact, was at Aboukir Bay, some twelve miles away.

The Battle of the Nile.

Nelson had with him thirteen 74-gun ships, one 50, and a 16-gun brig; while the French fleet consisted of the famous *Orient* of 120 guns, three 80-gun ships, nine 74's and four powerful frigates, in addition to two brigs. Vice-Admiral Brueys, however, was not of the same calibre as Nelson, and anchored his ships in a single line in such a way that it gave poor possibilities of defence and gave the ships very little opportunity of supporting one another. The truth of the matter was partly that he was grossly over-confident, and paid for this confidence, and partly that the revolution had wrecked the fleet and he did not trust his men's seamanship. Nelson's plan was to attack the van and centre of the enemy in such a way that he could deal with the ships in series; and at the same time he gave instructions for his ships to prepare to anchor by the stern in order to prevent their being raked by the enemy. He attacked at sunset, but unfortunately H.M.S. *Culloden* stranded before she could get into position, and was lost to the fleet. The other ships attacked gallantly, and soon a tremendous action was in progress. Before the action had been in progress very long, the French flagship *L'Orient* caught fire,

and the efforts of the British ship engaging her were centred on preventing the outbreak being suppressed. At about ten o'clock she blew up with a colossal explosion, the burning fragments falling on a number of British ships round her and starting a number of smaller fires. The French ships put up a gallant defence, but were hammered into submission one by one, perhaps the most gallant action in the whole fight being that of Captain du Petit Thouars, of the *Tonnant*. First of all his right arm was shot off, then his left, and then one of his legs, whereupon he insisted on being placed in a tub of bran to staunch the bleeding, and continued the action until he fainted. By six o'clock in the morning the battle was over, and only four ships, under Rear-Admiral Villeneuve, contrived to escape, only to be captured by a British force a short time after the battle. It was one of the most complete victories ever known in the history of the sea.

The Blockade of Malta.

On his way back with a number of prizes from the Nile, Sir James Saumarez made contact with a Portuguese squadron on its way to reinforce Nelson, and as there was no further need for it in that action, he joined forces, and together summoned the French garrison at Malta to surrender. The majority of the islanders were against their conquerors, and accordingly a number of muskets were landed for their use, and the Portuguese squadron was left to blockade the port until British reinforcements arrived. As a matter of fact, Malta held out with remarkable tenacity, until finally, when it was obvious that its downfall could not be long delayed, Bonaparte presented the island to the Czar of Russia, and by this mean obtained a new ally.

The Loss of the "Leander."

In August, 1798, H.M. 50-gun ship *Leander*, carrying Captain Edward Berry, Nelson's flag captain, with despatches, fell in with the French 74-gun ship *Généreux*, which was a survivor of the battle of the Nile. Being greatly inferior to the French ship as well as handicapped by the injuries that she had sustained in the battle, the *Leander* made all sail to escape, but the Frenchman was favoured by the breeze and was soon making such progress that the *Leander* determined to await her assault. There could be only one result from such a battle, for the Frenchman had a tonnage of 1,926 against the *Leander's* 1,000, and a broadside of over 1,000 pounds against her 432, while her crew consisted of 936 men to the 282 aboard the British ship. In spite of this, the smaller vessel resisted for six hours and a half before she was forced to strike. Unhappily, one has to record the fact that the Revolutionary French captors behaved very badly on this occasion, robbing the prisoners of everything that they possessed and preventing the wounded from receiving any attention. The *Leander* was eventually restored to the British, and her captain and Captain Berry were knighted for their gallantry in this action.

Bruix in the Mediterranean.

One of the Royalist officers who had been compelled to leave the French Navy but had afterwards been reinstated, was Eustache Bruix,

who, in April, 1799, succeeded in slipping out of Brest with twenty-five line-of-battle ships, five frigates and a number of small vessels. Lord Keith—the Elphinstone who took the Cape of Good Hope—was off Cadiz, and St. Vincent was at Gibraltar, and both were duly warned of the French fleet being at sea. Unhappily there was a division in the British ships, as it was the impression of many people that the French intended to attack Ireland, so that they were able to work down south without any interruption. At the beginning of May, Keith, with fifteen ships, sighted thirty-three Frenchmen some distance off Oporto, but he was unable to intercept, and they contrived to get through the straits and into Toulon. This reinforcement of the Toulon fleet meant that the British were hopelessly outnumbered in the Mediterranean, and St. Vincent immediately took steps to collect his scattered command. At the same time he was invalided out of the command of the fleet, taking the best line-of-battle ship to transport him home to England. He left Keith implicit instructions, which the latter thought better to disregard, and was in consequence robbed of what might have been a decisive victory. Bruix left Toulon towards the end of May, and, collecting a big Spanish force at Cartagena, made for Brest, reckoning that he would have infinite opportunities of using his force in the Atlantic. Lord Keith, who had repented his mistaken judgment and had pursued them as fast as he could, was only a day behind them.

Nelson's Neapolitan Trouble.

Meanwhile, Nelson was entering into the most dangerous period of his career, for he had gone to Palermo to coerce the authorities there into protecting themselves against the French, and the troubled political state of Italy at that moment called for a trained diplomatist rather than a sailor. From Palermo he went up to Naples, where he was still further embroiled in the political situation. Cardinal Russo, the Vicar-General of the King of Sicily, took a hand in the business, and between the churchmen, the sailors, the soldiers, and the professional politicians there was a pretty confusion. A truce had been arranged when Nelson arrived, but he was not satisfied as to the authority of it, and took his own line in dealing with the Neapolitans who had rebelled against their King. It is to be feared that at this time his judgment was hopelessly warped by the personal likes and dislikes of Lady Hamilton, with whom he was already enamoured, and who, as wife of the British Ambassador at the court of Naples, was very well versed in Neapolitan politics of the day. Looking back at it now, it is obvious that Nelson would have been far wiser to have acknowledged the armistice and amnesty that had been granted, and that his refusal to do so gave the Italians every reason for accusing him of treachery, but it must be remembered that he was thrust for the first time into a hotbed of chicanery and trickery, and was suspicious of everything and everybody around him. The result was most unfortunate, for, doing as he thought right, Nelson took back the pledges that had been given to the rebels, while the indignant Russo did all that he could to make his position worse. Things came to a head when Prince Caracciolo, a Neapolitan naval officer who

(*Macpherson Collection*)

ACTION BETWEEN H.M.S. "LEANDER," 50, AND "LE GÉNÉREUX," OFF CANDIA, 18 AUGUST, 1798

(From a Lithograph in Colours by and after C. H. Seaforth)

(Macpherson Collection)

LANDING OF BRITISH TROOPS IN HOLLAND, 27 AUGUST, 1799, COVERED BY THE FLEET AND GUN VESSELS UNDER VICE-ADMIRAL MITCHELL

(Engraving Published by R. Dodd, 1800)

SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH AT ACRE, 8 MAY, 1799
(From a Proof Engraving by A. Cardon, after J. Eckstein)

The manner in which Sir William Sidney Smith put heart into the defenders of Acre stopped Napoleon's progress along the coast, and as he himself described it, spoiled his destiny.

(From a print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

CAPT LEWIS MORTLOCK DEFENDING THE SLOOP "WOLVERINE" AGAINST TWO FRENCH LUGGERS, NEAR BOULOGNE, 3 JANUARY, 1799

(MEZZOTINT BY C. TURNER, AFTER MASQUERIER)

(Macpherson Collection) .....

H.M. FRIGATE " SEINE "
(From a Contemporary Water-Colour by Serres

The French 40-gun frigate Seine *was captured in 1798 by a superior British force when she was carrying home a number of mutinous French troops from Mauritius. Before she struck she sustained very heavy casualities and was driven ashore. but was refloated and added to the Royal Navy.*

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE CAPTURE OF THE "GUILLAUME TELL," 30 MARCH, 1800
(FROM AN AQUATINT IN COLOURS BY J. WELLS, DRAWN AND ETCHED BY N. POCOCK, PUBLISHED 1805)

The manner in which the French line-of-battle ship Guillaume Tell, *one of the few ships that contrived to escape from the Battle of the Nile, attempted to force her way out of Malta, and withstood an attack by vastly superior forces, is one of the epics of the war.*

Macpherson Collection

THE "SPEEDY" AND THE "GAMO," 6 MAY, 1801.
(From an Aquatint in Colours after N. Pocock, engraved by R. Pollard, published Oct. 1802).

One of the most remarkable fights in the war was when the little brig Speedy *tackled the Spanish frigate* Gamo *and captured her by boarding.*

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THOMAS, LORD COCHRANE, 1775-1860.
(From a Proof Mezzotint by C. Turner after Strochling).

One of the finest fighters in the Navy, Thomas, Lord Cochrane was always his own worst enemy, and his ungovernable temper and biting tongue made him many foes

THE "INCORRUPTIBLE," FRENCH 36-GUN FRIGATE
(From a Water-Colour by Howe, in 1800)

A typical vessel of her class, the Incorruptible, like most French frigates of that type, was an exceedingly good sailer and had a determined crew.

had fought with great distinction alongside the British but had afterwards joined the Republicans, was arrested and turned over to the loyal Neapolitans for trial on board Nelson's flagship. In such circumstances he could not hope for a fair trial from his enemies, and it resulted in his being hanged on board a British ship and the British Navy being blamed for everything by everybody. One can perhaps blame Nelson's lack of diplomatic knowledge for this trouble, but one cannot help blaming Sir William Hamilton for having permitted it, in fact encouraged it to go on, when he was a trained diplomatist and was supposed to have known what was happening.

After Aboukir.

Having been defeated by Nelson in his Egyptian project, Napoleon, who was still in Egypt, determined to attack the Ottoman Empire by way of Syria. The Pasha of Acre refused his advances and prepared to resist his march through Syrian territory, with the result that he laid it open to invasion. Naturally, the British did all that they could to help the Sultan, and a force under Commodore Sir William Sidney Smith, who has already been mentioned, was employed for this purpose. Smith determined to assist the Syrians at Acre. After capturing the guns and ammunition which had been despatched from Alexandria to Napoleon, he succeeded, by his extraordinary personal energy, in putting the place into a state of defence. The opposition he put up defeated Bonaparte's aims and caused him to be recalled by the Directory in France, while in the East his prestige suffered immensely by the successes of the Commodore, whom he afterwards described as " the man who spoiled my destiny."

Dutch Operations, 1799.

Believing that Dutch opinion was veering round from the Republicans to the Stadtholder, the British Government, in 1799, fitted out an expedition to Holland in conjunction with the Russians. Under the command of the Duke of York and Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby, the expedition, consisting of a number of men-of-war and 17,000 troops, sailed from Margate Roads in August. Lord Duncan was in command of the fleet in H.M.S. *Kent*. The troops were landed and defeated the Dutch, taking the Helder without difficulty, together with thirteen Dutch men-of-war and three Indiamen which were anchored at Nieuwediep. In the Vlieter were another dozen Dutch ships under Vice-Admiral Storij, and they also were surrendered and added to the British Navy, a reasonable price being paid for them to the Dutch Stadtholder. There is no doubt that this was a very easy victory, which could not have taken place had not politics undermined the moral of the Dutch Navy, just as happened in the days of Cromwell and Charles II. The Army was not so successful, for, after some initial successes, they were beaten back to the sea and were forced to re-embark, the whole expedition being a very costly one without producing any very great results. Among the ships that were lost by marine risks during these operations was the frigate *Lutine*, whose treasure has been the subject of innumerable hunts ever since.

St. Vincent's Blockade of Brest, 1800.

Having recovered his health, and Lord Bridport having requested permission to resign, St. Vincent was put into the command of the Channel Fleet blockading Brest, in co-operation with his old friend General Sir Charles Grey. The doctors protested, but the old admiral was determined, and in spite of the fact that the fleet was notoriously rotten with disaffection, he soon had his flag flying in the *Ville de Paris*. Not only were the men mutinous, but he had to contend with absolute treachery from his own officers, and it was not long before he began to take very thorough measures to correct this state of affairs. Where necessary he relieved, where necessary he hanged, and where possible he brought up his old friends from the Mediterranean station, so that before long he had a very efficient fleet under him, but in moulding it he broke down his own health, and before long he was very glad to accept the Government offer of the post of First Lord of the Admiralty. This was in February, 1801, and he immediately began to fight corruption on shore just as keenly and successfully as he had fought corruption and disaffection at sea.

The Year 1800.

While St. Vincent was still at sea there were one or two items that are worth recording. There was the case of the French 80-gun ship *Guillaume Tell*, which had escaped from Aboukir Bay after the Battle of the Nile, slipping out of Malta. The British 36-gun frigate *Penelope* sighted her and gallantly hung on to her skirts in pursuit, at the same time sending for assistance from the British blockading squadron. The frigate put herself across the line-of-battle ship's stern and raked her again and again, until she was relieved by the 64-gun ship *Lion* and then by the 80-gun ship *Foudroyant*, under the gallant Sir Edward Berry. The odds were changed with a vengeance, but the crew of the *Guillaume Tell* were just as gallant in resisting the attacks of her enemies as the little *Penelope* had been in engaging her in the first place, and it was only after a stubbornly contested battle of nearly eight hours that she was forced to haul down her flag, after damaging her big antagonists so seriously that they were unable to take possession of her, and had to leave that honour to the frigate. Napoleon very properly awarded Rear-Admiral Decrès the Arms of Honour, which preceded the foundation of the Legion of Honour. In September of the same year, after a wonderfully gallant defence, the French garrison at Malta surrendered. Not nearly so successful was the expedition under Rear-Admiral Sir John Warren to Ferrol, which employed eleven ships and a large number of men. After a hard fight the troops took the heights overlooking the town, and then, deceived by the plausible lies told by prisoners, the general suddenly decided to abandon the enterprise and re-embarked his troops when everything seemed to be in his hands. The Army was then sent on to Lord Keith for the purpose of attacking Cadiz, but when it was discovered that plague was raging in the town the enterprise was abandoned.

Cochrane in the "Speedy."

One of the most remarkable figures at sea during this period was Thomas Cochrane, later to be Earl of Dundonald. He was born in Scotland in 1775, the son of the ninth Earl, and by keeping his name on the books of various men-of-war, he had contrived to pile up quite a big seniority before he actually joined the service in 1793. He immediately distinguished himself by his reckless courage, but at the same time he was not amenable to discipline and was always in hot water with his seniors. In 1798 he was tried by court martial for impertinence to the First Lieutenant of the line-of-battle ship in which he was serving, and was very lucky to get off with an admonition to be more careful in future. He was away with a prize when H.M.S. *Queen Charlotte* was destroyed by fire in 1799, otherwise he might well have been one of the many victims. Although he had done very well, professional intrigue got him appointed to the 14-gun brig *Speedy*, armed with 4-pounder pop-guns which were absolutely useless, instead of the very fine little corvette which he was expecting. That was in the beginning of 1800, and although he showed his contempt for his command by walking about with her entire broadside in his pocket, and although the only way he could shave himself in her cramped quarters was to stand up in his cabin with his head through the skylight while the mirror was propped up on deck, he was intensely proud of her, and immediately started to show what she could do. His first capture was a powerful French privateer, quickly followed by another, and then by a wonderful raid on the Spanish coast which cost them a large number of their merchant ships. Off Majorca at the end of the year he captured the 10-gun *La Liza*, but immediately afterwards he encountered the Spanish 32-gun frigate *El Gamo* and escaped by a stratagem, having shipped a Danish quartermaster and posing as a Danish brig, scaring the enemy off by asking assistance for the plague on board. By that time his crew had got so accustomed to his reckless gallantry that they were actually dissatisfied at escaping from such a powerful enemy, and he promised that the next time they encountered her they would fight. He then went on capturing enemy small craft, and made a wonderful name for himself.

The "Speedy" and the "Gamo."

It was on May 6th, 1801, off Barcelona, that the little *Speedy* met the *Gamo* once again, specially commissioned for the purpose of wiping her out of existence. Much to the Spaniard's surprise she attacked, and was soon fast in her big adversary's rigging so that the enemy's shot passed over her hull, Cochrane sheering off when the enemy attempted to board and thus avoiding being overpowered by numbers. However, it was obvious that this sort of thing could not go on for very long, and the situation was desperate. Cochrane therefore determined to board, although the Spaniard's crew was six times his own, but while he and the main body poured over the waist a small party with blackened faces and blood-curdling yells came over the bow. The doctor and a boy were left to take charge of the *Speedy*, but even so the boarding party was hopelessly outnumbered, and things were look-

ing serious when Cochrane leapt on the bulwarks and shouted for fifty more men. The Spaniards immediately decided to surrender, and the ship was carried. He sent his younger brother, a midshipman, into port with her, but the youngster soon found that his tiny prize crew would have very little chance against the Spaniards, who by that time were showing obvious regret at ever having struck their flag. He therefore fixed two guns at the hatchways, pointing down the holds with a sentinel over each carrying a lighted match. The prisoners did not rise, and were taken safely into port. This extraordinary victory naturally made Cochrane's name for all time, but it ruined him professionally. He wrote to St. Vincent, who was then First Lord of the Admiralty, concerning the promotion of his First Lieutenant to the rank of Commander, but worded his letter so tactlessly that he got a stinging retort to the effect that the losses of the *Speedy* on this occasion would not justify the promotion. He immediately wrote back and pointed out that the losses of H.M.S. *Victory* at the battle of St. Vincent were considerably smaller, yet the awards that were distributed on that occasion were accepted gracefully without question. St. Vincent never forgave him, and as long as he was in power Cochrane never had a chance of promotion or even of repeating his dashing exploits in the *Speedy*.

Keith's Egyptian Expedition, 1801.

Soon after the abandonment of the Cadiz venture it was determined to attack the French forces that had been left in Egypt, negotiations for their evacuation having broken down. The Turks were invited to co-operate, but, as usual, they were late, with the result that the expedition, which consisted of a big naval force with 16,000 troops under Sir Ralph Abercromby, did not reach Alexandria until March 1st. A landing was successfully effected, with Sir William Sidney Smith in charge of the naval brigade that he loved to handle. The subsequent operations were of a military rather than a naval nature, but with the assistance of a force sent from India the French were gradually driven from position after position, and finally capitulated in September, it being agreed that the garrison should be transported to France by the British.

The Second Armed Neutrality.

Very largely owing to Napoleon's bribe of the Island of Malta, the Czar of Russia in 1801 played the Emperor's game by reviving the Armed Neutrality of the North that had caused the British so much inconvenience during the War of American Independence. It was the more serious at this time because the Navy depended entirely on the Baltic powers for its stores of hemp, canvas and spars. It proposed to resist the right of search in all seas, which would have been an end to the exercise of British sea power and its influence on the war. Denmark and Norway, which were then one kingdom, were only too anxious to accept the invitation on account of the *Freja* incident of July, 1800, which had caused the greatest excitement in the country. The Danish 40-gun frigate *Freja* was convoying some merchantmen in the Channel when she was intercepted by a British cruiser squadron which wanted

THE LANDING OF BRITISH TROOPS IN EGYPT, 8 MARCH, 1801.
(From an Aquatint by Schiavonetti after Loutherbourg)

Without the command of the Mediterranean it would have been impossible to transport and land an expedition like this. The manner in which carronades were mounted in the bows of boats is shown in the right of the picture.

(Macpherson Collection)

H.M.S. "CAESAR" FITTING OUT AT GIBRALTAR, JULY, 1801.
(From one of a set of Aquatints in Colours by H. & J. C. Stadler after Capt. J. Brenton)

The energy of Saumarez and the affection in which he was held by the Fleet permitted him to refit his ships in record time and fight a second action with Linois.

THE PASSAGE OF THE SOUND, 2 APRIL, 1801.
(From one of a set of three Aquatints in Colours after R. Dodd).

The print shows Sir Hyde Parker's fleet passing Cronenbergh before Nelson fought the Battle of Copenhagen.

THE "LARK" GUN LUGGER
(From an Original Painting on Vellum by Robb)

The Lark took a valiant part in the Copenhagen operations. She is typical of the big three-masted luggers of the time, a type that was largely borrowed from the French.

to examine the convoy. The gallant little Dane fired on a boat from the squadron, but was quickly brought to book and forced to surrender. Hence when the Czar formed his Armed Neutrality, which Prussia joined at once and Sweden soon after, it was not difficult to persuade Denmark. It became necessary, therefore, to prove to the Northern powers that Britain would not and could not abandon the right of search, and a powerful fleet was fitted out under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as second-in-command, to do it.

Copenhagen, 1801.

This fleet was meant as a more or less peaceable display of force, but the Danes very gallantly called the bluff, and, drawing up their fleet before the fortifications of Copenhagen, which were then very considerable, closed the Baltic to it. Had the Armed Neutrality joined them at once, it would have gone badly for the British, for they had forty odd ships of the line against the British eighteen, but the bigger powers saw the chance of using little Denmark as a catspaw, and accordingly left her to do the fighting. The channels up to Copenhagen were difficult, and the Danes increased the difficulty by removing all the navigational marks and any assistance that might be rendered to the British. Admiral Parker did not like the look of things at all, but Nelson saw that matters were desperate, and that if the British gave way their position would be hopeless. He therefore finally got permission to attack the Danes with ten line-of-battle ships and the small craft, a force that was afterwards increased by a 54-gun ship and a 50. Nelson went out in a boat himself and rebuoyed the passage, completing his plans in time to lead his squadron in on April 2nd, 1801. The Danish fleet, with many ships unrigged but all ready for action, was moored in front of the Copenhagen batteries, and, assisted by the natural difficulties of the position, they made a very hard nut to crack. In spite of the precautions which Nelson had taken, several of his ships stranded on the way in, and the remainder were soon at it hammer and tongs, faced with longer odds than they cared for. Admiral Parker in the distance saw what was going on and signalled to Nelson to discontinue the action and retreat, but Nelson on this occasion put his telescope to his blind eye and maintained that he could not see the signal, in the meantime nailing his own signal for closer battle to the mast. "Gallant good Riou," in command of the frigate division, was cut in two by a round shot. Several Danish vessels were compelled to strike by the superior British gunnery, and as the enemy's fire slackened Nelson took the opportunity to address a letter to the Prince of Denmark suggesting an armistice. The Danish fleet had been very severely handled, but the force were still in good condition and might have given a lot of further trouble had not the armistice been confirmed, and Denmark agreed to take no further part in the actions of the Armed Neutrality.

After Copenhagen.

Meanwhile Hyde Parker passed into the Baltic, many of his big ships having to transfer their guns to merchantmen in order to get

through the shallows, and commenced to turn his attention to the Swedish fleet that was near Carlskrona. Nelson at this time was detained in his flagship, but, hearing of the possibility of a battle, he took a long boat and, half frozen, without even a boat cloak, joined his chief over twenty miles away. Meanwhile the Swedes retreated, and he was disappointed of his battle, for subsequent negotiations put that country also out of the association. The Czar of Russia had meantime been murdered, and his successor professed great friendship for the English, but there is little doubt that this was entirely due to the presence of the British fleet in the Baltic, and that he would have behaved very differently had it not been for Nelson's arrival at Reval. The break-up of the association meant that England was once again able to get her naval stores, and the object of the expedition was attained.

The Peace of Amiens, 1802.

Both parties in the conflict were getting war weary, and what was more to the point both sides saw that a breathing space would give them a very much better chance of renewing the struggle with advantage to themselves. Accordingly in October, 1801, preliminary articles of peace were signed in London, but the actual peace was not to be signed at Amiens for some months later, and in the interval there was more than one occasion when it looked as though the struggle would be resumed. The broad lines of the treaty were to return to each power the territory that she had lost. The only vestiges of Britain's huge conquests that were left to her were the Island of Trinidad and some territory in Ceylon, captured from Spain and Holland respectively. There was a good deal of dissatisfaction as to the terms of this treaty, but as a matter of fact Britain could not hope to conquer France on land without powerful allies, and one after another her allies had failed her. On the other hand, in spite of the fact that the French cruisers and privateers had been very active and had a large number of prizes, they had only captured about two and a half per cent. of the British Merchant Service, while that of France had been wiped entirely from the seas. In face of all its difficulties British trade had doubled, and was moreover in a position to maintain itself for the duration of the peace, however long that would be, although very few people expected it to be long. The ambition of Napoleon was still unsated, and it was bound to produce trouble before long.

CHAPTER III—THE RISE OF NAPOLEON

The Resumption of the War, 1803.

It had long been obvious that the Peace of Amiens was nothing more than a truce, for the interests of Napoleon and Britain were diametrically opposite, and each was determined. It had been agreed that Britain should evacuate Malta and the adjacent islands, which should go to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and also that Egypt and the Ionian Islands should not be interfered with. They were, however, important for Napoleon's plans, and it was soon discovered that he was making preparations to bring them under French influence. In such circumstances Britain refused to evacuate Malta, on which Russia had her eyes, and Lord Whitworth, the Ambassador in Paris, left the capital. On May 18th war was formally declared against France, much to the disappointment of Napoleon, who had hoped to have until the autumn to complete his preparations. The Batavian Republic was then a part of France, and was included in the declaration.

The Blockade of Brest.

The first action which the British took was to establish a blockade of Brest, Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis being sent to maintain it with the Channel Squadron of ten line-of-battle ships and some frigates. Other ships strengthened the ends of his line, and as various French ships came home from the distant stations they were blockaded in the ports they entered. Two of them were at Rochefort, five at Ferrol and one at Cadiz. The inferior French fleet was helpless, but Napoleon immediately gave orders for the construction in Dutch and German waters of a large number of gunboats and flat-bottomed barges, which were meant for an invasion of Britain. These forces were watched by British frigates, but their existence gave the authorities a good deal of anxiety, and their numbers were soon multiplied by shipbuilding efforts in the various French Channel ports.

The Mediterranean Situation.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean was Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, with Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson as Second in Command. The force that they had at their disposal was ample to keep the French fleet at Toulon, but French influence in the Mediterranean was very considerable indeed, and it was felt that it would have to be strongly reinforced to hold its own in the face of possible developments in the middle sea. Nelson had his flag in the *Victory*, and it was very largely he who maintained the coast blockade of Toulon, where Admiral Latouche Treville had command and where he hoped for reinforcements from the Spanish.

Hood at St. Lucia.

Meanwhile Commodore Samuel Hood was busy in the West Indies. With two two-deckers and a number of smaller ships carrying troops he arrived at St. Lucia on June 21st, 1803, got a firm footing on the island in a matter of hours, and early next morning stormed and carried the fortress that protected it. He then went on to Tobago and took possession of it just as easily. The Dutch possessions in the West Indies were next

attacked, Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice falling in quick succession. Meanwhile the negroes of San Domingo were attempting to turn out the French, and a British naval force from Jamaica gave them all assistance. Commodore John Loring had a squadron outside Cap François, while the negroes, under Dessalienes, were harassing the French from the shore. The French fleet therefore came out and surrendered to the British, but the 40-gun ship *Clorinde*, crowded with refugees, stranded at the entrance to the harbour, and the loss of life would have been terrible had it not been for the gallantry of Lieutenant Nisbet Willoughby, who prevented the blacks slaughtering them as they lay helpless. He then salved the frigate, which was added to the British Navy.

Linois in the Indian Ocean.

Meanwhile, a French squadron, under Rear-Admiral Linois, was taking General Decaen and a powerful military force out to India to take possession of Pondicherry again under the provisions of the Treaty of Amiens. It sailed from Brest just before war broke out again, and arrived at Pondicherry in July. The British were still in possession of the town, but, knowing that the renewal of the war was imminent, they took advantage of the fact that they had received no definite orders from home, and refused to surrender the town until they could hear further. Meanwhile, Vice-Admiral Peter Rainier arrived with a superior British force. The French admiral received instructions from home which warned him that war was likely to break out, and slipped away in the night. Rainier next morning, believing that the French Admiral's despatches had told him of the definite outbreak of war, prepared to engage him at the first opportunity. He did not proceed in a very businesslike manner, however, and Linois reached the Isle of France—Mauritius—without any effort being made to forestall him, and then set about strengthening the French and Dutch posts that were still in their hands, and destroying a large number of valuable British merchantmen.

Preparations for the Invasion of England.

Napoleon could ill brook the sight of his Brest fleet closely blockaded, and accordingly he made the utmost progress with his plans for invasion. The number of boats was greatly increased, and also quite a large fleet of regular men-of-war prepared. Large bodies of troops were drafted into the blockaded ships at Brest to be trained as marines, and the greater part of the fleet was sent out into the outer roads from the harbour. On July 25th, 1804, however, helped by a dense fog, part of the fleet did attempt to slip out, but, unfortunately for them, the weather cleared. They were immediately seen by the blockaders, who signalled their consorts and soon chased them back to port again. However, the men-of-war in the port were crowded with troops, and were held in readiness under Admiral Ganteaume to throw 25,000 French troops into Ireland or Scotland, preferably the former, and then to go north about to Holland to pick up the ships blockaded there and the transports that had been prepared. It was then estimated that they

A Correct VIEW of the FRENCH FLAT-BOTTOM BOATS, intended to convey their TROOPS, for the INVASION of ENGLAND,
as seen afloat in Chatoute Bay, in August 1803.—Those flat-bottom Boats are about 120 feet long, and 30 broad, and will carry 500 Men each, they have on board 1
small Boats, calculated to carry out, of wind, a Ledge-anchor, with which they can heave the vessel a-head, in light, or contrary winds, when they are near the shore
References
Published Aug.st 17 1803, by John Fairburn, 146, Minories London.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

BOATS OF THE BOULOGNE FLOTILLA FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND.
(From an Engraving published in 1803).

(*Macpherson Collection*)

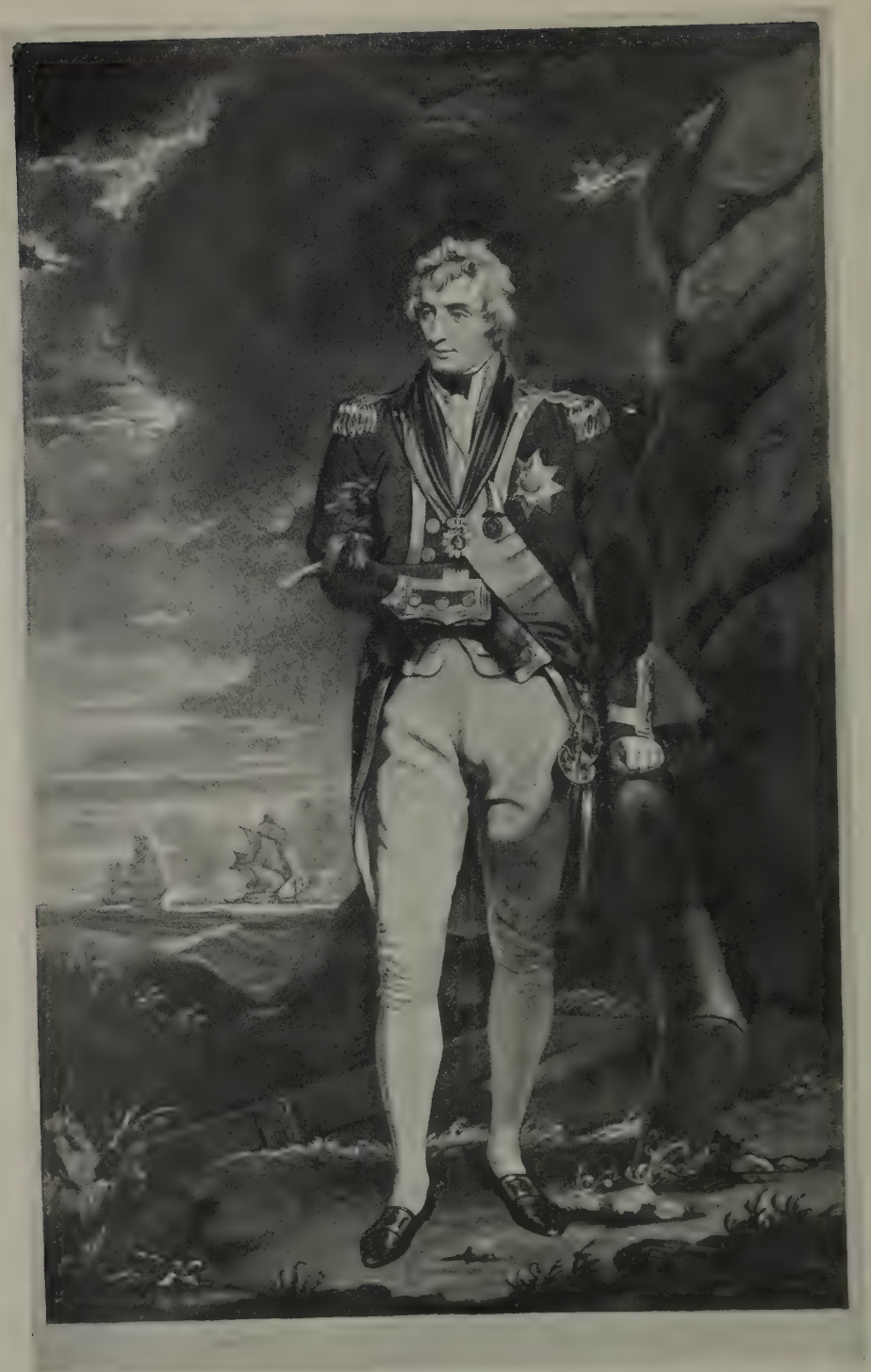
THE "ADMIRAL MITCHELL" AT BOULOGNE, OCTOBER, 1803.
(From an Aquatint in colours, engraved by Stadler after Livesay, 1804)

The French Camp at Boulogne, and the small craft collected there, made a tempting bait for British men-of-war, and many came to grief through venturing too close to the batteries. The armed cutter, Admiral Mitchell, *commanded by Lieut. Shippard, succeeded, however, in driving ashore a gun-brig and a sloop.*

Macpherson Collection

LOSS OF H.M.S. "VENERABLE" ON THE ROCKS IN TOR BAY, 24 NOVEMBER, 1804.
(From an Aquatint in Colours after painting by R. Dodd, contemporary.)

The maintenance of the blockade of the French coast involved the use of Tor Bay as a base to which the British Fleet might retire in bad weather, and several ships were lost.



(*Macpherson Collection*)

SIR SAMUEL HOOD (1762-1814).
(From a Proof Mezzotint by G. Clint, after Hoppner, Pubd. 1808)

A distinguished member of the Hood family who, in spite of his fine services later, is chiefly remembered by his dramatic escape from Toulon in H.M.S. Juno.

would have sufficient material to attempt the main invasion of England, but unforeseen circumstances prevented the fulfilment of this idea. In the meantime, Bonaparte had made himself Emperor, and had no intention of giving up his grandiose plan.

The Invasion Flotilla.

The force that was collected on the Channel coast for the invasion of Britain was a colossal one, at its height numbering well over two thousand ships. Nine hundred of these were specially designed transports, and a further seven hundred were gun vessels, rigged either as schooners, brigs or luggers. Most of the gun vessels carried an 8-inch mortar and three long 24-pounders, but some of the smaller ones carried only one 24-pounder and a field gun. For the conveyance of the horses a number of ship-rigged prames were built, each carrying twelve 24-pounders, and capable of transporting fifty horses. In addition, there were some four hundred *péniches,* schluyt-rigged galleys which were really hybrids of the Dutch and Mediterranean type, whose name was a corruption of the English " pinnace." Practically all the ports and inlets of the coast were pressed into service for the accommodation of this flotilla, Vice-Admiral Bruix having his headquarters at Boulogne. Most of these ports were protected by natural defences of sandbanks, but still the British cruisers contrived to worry them considerably at every opportunity.

British Torpedoes.

The excellent defence put up by the French batteries forced the British to attack in another way, and accordingly the Catamaran was devised, very much on the lines of the American torpedoes that had been used in the War of Independence. It was made out of a 21-foot chest lined with lead, rather more than three feet wide and having the rough shape of a boat. It contained clockwork detonating machinery and about forty barrels of powder, being designed to float just awash. This machine was to be towed in by boats under cover of darkness and made fast to anchor chains in a tideway. The hope was that it would drift alongside the enemy ships and blow up after a predetermined interval. It was far more dangerous to those who tried to use it than it was to the enemy. The first attempt to employ them was in October, 1804, when they were scattered among a crowd of French small craft off Boulogne, in company with four fire ships. The fire ships expended themselves uselessly and only one catamaran did any damage, when it was being curiously examined by a number of French officers. The attempt, however, gave the enemy sufficient warning for them to protect their flotillas with a carefully designed arrangement of booms and chain cables, which effectively prevented such an attack being carried out again with any hope of success. After another unsuccessful attempt to use these machines, they were dropped by the naval authorities.

The Case of Commander John Wesley Wright.

One of the mysteries of France after the Revolution is the fate of Commander John Wesley Wright, R.N., a mystery that puzzled and

infuriated Europe for years, and which is still a serious bone of contention. He was in command of the little *Vincejo*, a brig mounting eighteen 18-pounder carronades and manned by 75 hands altogether, 24 of them being boys. On the morning of May 8th, 1804, she was becalmed at the mouth of the Morbihan, and while anchored there was attacked by six 3-gun brigs and eleven 2-gun luggers, carrying between 700 and 800 men. By means of springs to the cables, Commander Wright contrived to get his broadside to bear, and gave them a warm reception, but after two hours' fighting his ship was badly cut about aloft and leaking, several of his guns were out of action, and things were in a very bad way, so that he ordered his colours to be hauled down. Wright was imprisoned in the Temple at Paris, and shortly after Trafalgar he died in circumstances which at the time were generally believed to point to foul play. Napoleon protested that this was not the case, but the matter has been argued hotly ever since, and will always remain one of the mysteries of naval history.

The Monotony of Toulon.

Meanwhile, the blockade of Toulon was dragging its weary length in a manner which was heartbreaking to a man of Nelson's vivid temperament. Generally, Nelson's fleet was anchored in Agincourt Sound, but occasionally he went cruising up to Toulon, although he could never persuade the French to come out in force. There were one or two brushes, however, which relieved the monotony to a certain extent, the first being in May, 1804. Two British line-of-battle ships and a cruiser were close to Toulon, and the rest of the fleet were out of sight over the horizon, when two French ships came out of port, and at the same time a number of gunboats attacked the British squadron. H.M.S. *Canopus*, a trophy of the Battle of the Nile, which was flying Rear-Admiral Campbell's flag, did her utmost to draw the French into the hands of the main squadron, and as several ships crept out of port it looked as though she would succeed. Unfortunately, after pursuing the British for a short distance, the enemy began to see what was happening and returned to port. The next action was in June, when Nelson himself had the inshore division off Hyères. There was an alarm on the afternoon of June 13th, when a number of French frigates were observed and pursued, whereupon it was noticed that the whole French fleet was in the outer roads of Toulon, apparently putting to sea. Nothing would have pleased Nelson better than an action under these circumstances, but Latouche-Treville was not inclined to be so obliging, and returned to port. A bombastic dispatch was published for political reasons, and the French admiral was blamed for its wording, although it would appear that he was only carrying out instructions all through the piece.

Napoleon's Plan.

At the same time, Napoleon worked out and sent to Admiral Latouche-Treville an elaborate plan for the conduct of affairs as he saw them. There were a number of first-class soldiers in the south of France, and 1,500 of them were to be embarked in the heavier men-of-

war, the remainder of the crews to be made up by those of useless small craft and the Press Gang. At the first opportunity the Admiral was to slip out of Toulon, deceive Nelson as far as possible, work through the Straits to Gibraltar to pick up any French ships in Cadiz, to avoid the British squadron off Ferrol, and to pick up a further French squadron off Rochefort. He would then have with him a powerful fleet, quite sufficient to tackle the British force that was expected to be found at Boulogne, while the Brest fleet kept Cornwallis busy. Latouche-Treville was then to proceed to Boulogne by way of Ireland or straight across the Bay of Biscay, according to the circumstances of the moment, and, arriving there, was to be ready to give Napoleon the command of the Straits for the passage of his invasion flotilla. It was essentially a soldier's plan, and it had to be postponed on account of the flotilla not being ready. Before he could carry any part of it out, Latouche-Treville was dead. That was in August, 1804, and the delay missed a great opportunity, for Nelson was very anxious over the condition into which many of his ships were getting.

The Appointment of Villeneuve.

Latouche-Treville was a man of outstanding ability, and the question immediately arose as to who should succeed him. Admiral Bruix was in command of the flotilla at Boulogne, and had he been in health, would certainly have made an excellent commander-in-chief at Toulon. He was, however, far from being in good health, and obviously could not stand the strain of such a command. Admiral Rosilly was considered, but eventually the choice fell on Admiral Villeneuve, who was the commander-in-chief at Rochefort, and who, although a gallant man, had no great reputation for ability. He had been a Royalist officer, and was one of the few men of his class who escaped the excesses of the early revolution. Being regarded as a good Republican, he rose rapidly on account of the dearth of men who had received any proper training at all. At the Battle of the Nile the manner in which he escaped was the subject of a good deal of very angry comment in France, although he appeared to have acted very prudently on that occasion, and merely to have avoided throwing away his force unnecessarily. When he appointed him to the command of the Toulon fleet in default of a more promising man, Napoleon changed the plan that he had sent to Latouche-Treville to include a voyage across the Atlantic to the West Indies, in the hope that Nelson would follow there and then be given the slip, while Villeneuve returned to European waters to carry out the remainder of the programme. The Admiral himself had very little confidence in this plan, and really started out with the firm conviction that he was going to disaster, a conviction that caused him to dally in Paris until he was sent down to Toulon by a very peremptory order from the Emperor.

The Position of Spain.

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The Position of Spain.

Meanwhile the position of Spain was very uncomfortable and not a little ludicrous. When she bound herself as ally to France, she agreed

to furnish both ships and soldiers. When the war was renewed after the Truce of Amiens, Napoleon saw that he would find this active assistance somewhat embarrassing, and that it would pay him very much better to have a neutral neighbour through whom he might outwit the British blockade. He therefore suggested that Spain should remain neutral, and should pay him a cash equivalent to her obligations. Spain was in no position at that time to find the money, whereupon he pointed out that she must do one or the other, provide the material help or the cash, and that, if she did not, he would declare war on her himself. The cash payment seemed better than this, and accordingly Spain agreed to the extortion in October, 1803, but was promptly told by Britain that this would be regarded as a *casus belli*. Napoleon was the nearer, however, and his methods were well known, so that it was necessary for the British to send repeated warnings that the naval preparations that Spain was making could not be regarded without suspicion. Finally, war broke out at the end of 1804, after being inevitable for some time past.

The Attack upon the Spanish Treasure Ships, 1804.

The possibility of Spain coming into the war immediately aroused attention to the promise of rich Spanish treasure ships to be captured, and, with the traditions of the Tudors behind them, the British were not slow to take full advantage of these possibilities. A cruiser force under Captain Graham Moore, with his broad pennant in the *Indefatigable*, was sent out to intercept four Spanish frigates which were bringing the annual treasure from the River Plate. For a long time war had been regarded as inevitable, and the treasure which was pouring into the Spanish capital was immediately despatched to France against every obligation of neutrality, but it must be remembered that war had not yet been declared. The Spaniards were encountered on October 7th, 1804, and were in no way prepared for attack, but when they were summoned to surrender they stoutly refused and put up a gallant fight. One of them, the 34-gun frigate *Mercedes*, blew up with heavy loss of life, the *Clara* and *Medea*, of 34 and 40 guns respectively, surrendered, and the *Fama* (34) was overhauled and overwhelmed in making an effort to escape. There was a very heavy loss of life in the *Mercedes*, including a large number of women and children who were taking their passage, but the booty gained was reckoned as being worth a million pounds sterling.

The Wreck of the "Minerve."

The work of blockading the French Channel coast in all sorts of weather was such a trying one that it is very surprising that more British ships were not lost; as it was there was a considerable casualty list. One of the principal was the 38-gun frigate *Minerve*, a French prize, which, in blockading Cherbourg, stranded on one of the stone cones which had been erected as a first step to the construction of a breakwater. When the fog lifted, the unfortunate frigate was well within the range of the French batteries, but Captain Jahleel Brenton did not lose his

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE " CENTAUR " BATTERY, DIAMOND ROCK.
(From an Aquatint in Colours after J. Eckstein, Published 1805)

The Rock, quite close to Martinique, was captured and armed by Commodore Samuel Hood and was thereupon rated in the Navy List as a Sloop-of-War. *See p.* 94.

head. He actually sent his boats in to cut out a French vessel which was close under the batteries, and which appeared suitable to carry out a bower anchor, while other boats harassed the French gunboats with their carronades. The work of getting out an anchor and kedging a frigate off to it was not easy in the best of circumstances, but with two French brigs hammering away from a position in which they could not be touched by any of the frigate's guns, it was awkward in the extreme. In spite of this, however, by ceaseless endeavours and magnificent seamanship, they contrived to get the *Minerve* off the breakwater, and were getting her away to sea when the wind fell and left her becalmed. Before she could anchor, the set of the tide carried her into the harbour and stranded her in a position where she could be pounded to pieces by the French batteries, and, after putting up with it for an hour, Captain Brenton finally struck. There arose a very pretty dispute between the French soldiers in the forts and the sailors in the gunboats and brigs, as to whom belonged the credit of the capture, but she was renamed *Canonnière* by Napoleon, which seems to have settled the dispute.

The " Duquesne " and her Consorts.

Napoleon was badly needing all his available men-of-war for the schemes that he had formed, and therefore ordered home the ships which were then in the West Indies. In San Domingo were the *Duguay Trouin*, the *Duquesne* and the *Guerrière*, the first two 74-gun ships and the last a 40-gun frigate. Commodore John Loring had an overwhelming squadron outside, and as soon as the three Frenchmen emerged from the headland a general chase was ordered. The *Duquesne* attempted to regain the harbour, but the 32-gun frigate *Tartar* hung on gallantly until other British ships could come up. Eventually the Frenchman was surrounded by a superior force. The rigours of the blockade had sadly affected the health of both sides, but the French were in very much worse condition than the British. In such circumstances the *Duquesne* had no alternative to striking. The *Duguay Trouin* contrived to beat off a British attack, and she and the *Guerrière* did not meet another British ship until they were off Cape Ortegal. They then fell in with H.M.S. *Boadicea*, 38 guns, under the command of Captain John Maitland, who immediately had the temerity to pursue. Naturally, they were not slow in turning on her, but she managed to escape and warned Sir Robert Calder, who was blockading Ferrol. The two daring Frenchmen were again pursued by a bigger British squadron, but reached Corunna safely. The manner in which these two ships contrived to get through the blockade and enter an allied port was a magnificent performance.

The Defence of the " Princess Augusta."

In September, 1803, the little cutter *Princess Augusta*, mounting eight 4-pounder popguns and manned by twenty-six men, was surprised off the Texel by two Dutch schooners. The larger contrived to get within range of the British ship under British colours, but, when she

had the advantage, replaced them by Dutch and fired a broadside which mortally wounded Lieutenant Isaac Scott and killed two of his three officers. Before he died Lieutenant Scott urged Master Joseph Thomas to defend the ship, which he did with good effect. Time and again the big Dutchmen, one of whom mounted twelve guns and had seventy men whilst the other had eight guns and fifty men, attempted to board. But each time they were repulsed, and finally the little cutter crawled out of the action, sadly damaged but safe.

Cutting Out.

Although the years 1803 and 1804 did not give any opportunity for fleet actions, they can record some magnificent cutting-out expeditions. One out of many is the affair of the *Harmonie* in Marin, Martinique. She was a powerful privateer that had made a large number of prizes among the British West Indiamen, and the 74-gun ship *Blenheim* determined to cut her out and to destroy the fort which guarded her. Sixty marines were sent to tackle the fort, while sixty seamen were told off to attend to the privateer. At the last minute Commander William Ferris arrived in a sloop, and begged permission to take part in the action, being given the command of the seamen, to whom a party of his own men were added. The whole affair was excellently planned, and the seamen contrived to slip past the fort at the mouth of the harbour and reach the privateer. So well were matters timed that they attacked the *Harmonie* at the precise moment that the marines tackled the fort, with the result that neither could help or alarm the other. The marines took the nine-gun fort and destroyed its magazines without the loss of a man, while the seamen captured the privateer with her crew of 66, with only one man killed and five wounded. A cutting-out expedition of this sort had to be planned with the greatest care and carried out with the greatest coolness and courage, for the least deviation from the time-table or excitement meant costly failure. A large number are to the credit of British arms during this period.

H.M.S. "Diamond Rock."

The British Navy List of 1805 contained a man-of-war known by the peculiar name of H.M.S. "*Diamond Rock*," which was indeed a rock in truth. It is a small island about a mile round and 600 feet high, situated within a mile of Martinique. Access is difficult at all times and only possible at all from one side, but Commodore Samuel Hood, in H.M.S. *Centaur*, determined that it should be captured for the sake of annoying Fort Royal, and taken it was. Two 24-pounder guns were mounted at the base of the rock, and two 18-pounders were hauled up to the summit in spite of apparently insurmountable difficulties. There was no good water on the rock, and ships could not always supply it, so the little garrison of 120 men, under Lieutenant Maurice, had to rely very largely on the rain water that they were able to catch and keep in tanks. Navy discipline was maintained on the rock, and it was run in every respect like a man-of-war. Although it is getting a little ahead of our story, it may be mentioned that when

Villeneuve reached Martinique with Nelson in pursuit, the only active step that he took was to tell off two 74-gun ships, a 36-gun frigate, a 16-gun sloop, a schooner and eleven gunboats, with 350 soldiers, to reduce this rock with its four guns. Commander Maurice, as he was then, decided that his lower works close to the sea level were indefensible, and accordingly retired to the 24-pounder that was mounted half way up the rock and the two 18-pounders on the summit. The powerful French squadron hammered him from the early morning of May 31st, 1805, to the evening of June 2nd, when, having run out of ammunition, Maurice surrendered under most advantageous terms, his gallant defence earning generous praise from his French enemies. He had lost two killed and one wounded, while the French had lost three gunboats and fifty or sixty men.

The Gallant Defence of the "Centurion."

The British 50-gun ship *Centurion* was lying in Vizagapatam in September, 1804, waiting to convoy two merchantmen, when she was attacked by a French squadron consisting of the 74-gun ship *Marengo*, the 30-gun frigate *Atalante* and the 36-gun *Semillante*, which had been told off especially to destroy the *Centurion*. One merchantman cut her cables and was wrecked, the other remained at her moorings. The *Centurion* in the meantime gallantly tackled her three enemies, although she was hopelessly outmatched, and there would have been no disgrace in her immediate surrender. For an hour she fought them and then, the *Marengo* having touched the bottom, they drew off for survey and repairs. After they had repaired they returned again, the line-of-battle ship bombarding at long range while the frigates tackled their enemy. The smaller frigate, however, was much too busy carrying off the remaining merchantman to take very much part in the action, and after two hours' further fighting the French squadron made off, much to the surprise and relief of Captain James Lind and his men, who certainly had very little hope of escaping capture.

The End of 1804.

The end of the year 1804 therefore saw the British everywhere superior at sea, with the two main French fleets tightly blockaded and the Spaniards unable to render them any great assistance. Villeneuve had taken over his command at Toulon, but he had not shown any great haste to carry out the Emperor's instructions, while month after month the sea-wracked British ships maintained the monotonous blockade, keeping the greater part of the French navy bottled up, but being quite unable to cope with the swarms of small privateers which played sad havoc with British shipping, without, however, material difference to the general progress of the war.

CHAPTER IV—THE TRAFALGAR CAMPAIGN

The Beginning of 1805.

Towards the end of 1804 the Spaniards had begun to take a very much more active interest in affairs, with the result that the British blockading force had to be considerably re-arranged in order to cover their fleet as well as the French. Ferrol and Corunna were watched by Rear-Admiral Cochrane with seven ships, although the force blockaded consisted of five French and seven Spaniards, with three more Spaniards nearly ready for sea. Sir John Orde was off Cadiz, where there was one French line-of-battle ship and seven Spanish ships ready for sea and four others practically complete. Orde also had to watch six Spanish line-of-battle ships in Cartagena, and Nelson was in the Mediterranean watching the Toulon fleet.

Sir John Orde.

Vice-Admiral Sir John Orde, on whose shoulders rested the very heavy responsibility of watching such a vastly superior fleet, was born in 1751, and saw service as a young man under Rodney in the West Indies. He also did well in the War of American Independence. In 1783 he was made Governor of Dominica, and did very useful work in suppressing the turbulent blacks but he lost something of his position in the Navy by his absence. He was promoted Rear-Admiral in 1795, and by virtue of this seniority he was always intensely jealous of Nelson. When St. Vincent detached Nelson to the Mediterranean in 1798, Orde protested, whereupon the admiral promptly regarded his protest as a breach of discipline and had him sent home. Being refused a court martial, Orde challenged St. Vincent to a duel, but the police interfered, and he was not employed again until St. Vincent left the Admiralty. In 1804, however, he was given command of the Finisterre squadron, and in view of his previous protestations, Nelson regarded this as being an unwarranted curtailment of his own command and the breach between the two admirals was made wider. When Villeneuve came out, as will be recorded later, Orde was obviously not strong enough to maintain his position off Finisterre, and accordingly fell back on Gardner at Brest, on the assumption that the French were going north. For this he was sent home and, after striking his flag, he was not employed again. He lost his chances by his own quarrelsome temper, but he does not appear to have been treated very fairly by the authorities.

The First Sortie.

Napoleon, in Paris, was indignant at Villeneuve's inaction at Toulon, so that, on January 17th, 1805, the admiral was at last compelled to leave port. He had with him his eleven sail of the line and nine frigates and small craft, mounting 1,146 guns in all, while at that time Nelson had eleven sail of the line and two frigates, mounting 1,048 guns. In such circumstances it would appear that the French had a very good chance, for their ships were fresh and Nelson's worn out with their long blockade. By the time his frigates had discovered Nelson, the French had slipped through, and there followed a weary search through the Mediterranean. Port after port was searched for news of Villen-

(*Macpherson Collection*)

HORATIO, VISCOUNT NELSON, (1758-1805).
(From a Proof Mezzotint by Barnard after Abbott, published 1806)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

H.M.S. " VICTORY."
(From an Aquatint in Colours by Dodd)

Although she was forty years old at the time of Trafalgar, the Victory *was still regarded as the finest ship in the Fleet. The peak bow and thin bulkhead which caused so many casualties at Trafalgar are clearly seen in the print, which was published soon after that event.*

euve's fleet, and finally, being convinced by certain things that had been said by the Emperor that the fleet would make for Egypt, he turned his ships' heads thither, and cleared for action. He went first to the Morea and then on to Egypt, but there was no sign or news of the French, and he had to make his way back to his station. He then discovered that Villeneuve's fleet had encountered a gale in the Gulf of Lions two days after leaving Toulon and had been so damaged that four of his ships had to seek shelter as best they could and return to Toulon. Villeneuve's path was then clear, but he was not by any means certain of this himself and had a good many repairs to carry out before he could attempt another sortie, while his own taste was certainly against any possibility of meeting Nelson at sea.

The Rochefort Fleet.

Meanwhile, the fleet under Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Graves, which had been watching Rochefort, was forced away by weather, so that Admiral Missiessy slipped out with the 120-gun ship *Majestueux*, four 74-gun ships and five smaller craft, with an army distributed throughout the fleet. He was sighted by the little 12-gun schooner *Felix*, who was not able to warn Graves, but who contrived to send down a message to Cochrane off Ferrol. As a matter of fact, the French plan was to get across to the West Indies for the defence of their colonies there and to ravage the British, and in spite of Cochrane's efforts to intercept them, they succeeded in reaching the islands, but only to return in the early summer.

The Modification of the French Plan.

Villeneuve's ineffective sortie and the failure of the Rochefort fleet to do very much in the West Indies caused a very considerable modification of Napoleon's plan. The Irish invasion was abandoned, and instead it was determined to concentrate as many French ships as possible in some safe locality, and then throw the whole force as rapidly as possible back into European waters to cover the passage of the invasion flotilla. Spain was still inclined to lack enthusiasm, but as it would be impossible to carry out this plan without her co-operation, pressure was brought upon her to have her ships ready to play their part. By the orders issued in the beginning of March, Villeneuve was to collect all the allied ships that he could find at Cadiz and then go to Martinique, where he was to wait six weeks for the appearance of Ganteaume from Brest. If this rendezvous failed he was to make for another in the Canaries. Ganteaume, having shaken off Cornwallis's blockade, was to collect all the ships he could in Ferrol. Had the plan succeeded, the allied fleet would have been ready to support the invasion in June or July, 1805. What Napoleon forgot was that his plan would not dispose of the British fleet; it would only evade it.

The Real Sortie.

Meanwhile, Nelson saw that his best chance of bringing Villeneuve's fleet to action was to lead him to believe that his previous sortie could be repeated with impunity. Accordingly, he withdrew to the Gulf of

Palma, after giving the French reason to suppose that he was off Barcelona. Acting on this information, the French fleet left Toulon on March 29th, and was sighted in what was practically a calm by the British frigates two days later. One of them went off to inform Nelson at Palma, while the other hung on to the skirts of the French as well as she could, only to lose them in the darkness. The French next appeared off Cartagena, but the Spanish squadron, under Rear-Admiral Salcedo, either was not ready to sail or else refused to help the French venture and Villeneuve was compelled to proceed without them. Believing again that the French would be making for Egypt, Nelson wasted time off the Sicilian coast, and it was not until April 9th that he made up his mind that they could not be steering east. He then learned that they had passed through the Straits of Gibraltar. He had already been ordered ashore by his doctor, for his health was far from good, but such orders were useless when the enemy were out and obviously on their way across the Atlantic. They had picked up reinforcements at Cadiz, compelling Sir John Orde to retire, and five Spanish line-of-battle ships and a frigate were a very welcome reinforcement. Although they met baffling head winds and calms, the allies had a big start of Nelson and made the most of it. Ganteaume sallied out to join them according to orders, but was overawed by the British fleet that he met and returned to Brest.

In the West Indies.

Villeneuve reached Martinique on May 14th, 1805, but Nelson did not contrive to leave Lagos until the 11th. He was very impatient to be after his enemy, but he could not neglect the fact that there were a number of transports and British merchant ships unprotected through Orde's movement to the north, and he had to provide for them before he left European waters. He then sailed to the West with ten line-of-battle ships and three frigates, making all speed that he possibly could in pursuit of a greatly superior fleet. The enemy had eighteen line-of-battle ships and seven frigates, and Nelson was tolerably well aware of this fact. He hoped to be joined by Cochrane's six ships that had left Ferrol in pursuit of Missiessy, but in any event he was prepared to fight. He planned to make up for his lack of ships by engaging the enemy in detail, first smashing one portion of the line from the leeward and then dealing with the remainder as appeared desirable. At Barbados he was joined by Cochrane, but with only two 74-gun ships instead of the six that he had hoped for. Once more he was deceived about the enemy's movements. Finally he made up his mind that the French had returned to Europe, and made sail in the same direction. As a matter of fact, the French were only three or four days ahead of him when he set out for Gibraltar in order to re-victual his fleet and regain touch with the enemy.

Nelson in Europe.

Nelson made his landfall at Cape St. Vincent on July 17th, and next day he fell in with Vice-Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood, with three sail of the line. It was not for several days that he received any definite

news of the enemy, and he began to search the Eastern Atlantic for them again. On August 15th there was still nothing definite, when Cornwallis joined him off Ushant, and the combined fleet made for Portsmouth. When Nelson landed on August 18th, he had only been ashore once in well over two years, and this although he was supposed to be so sick that the doctors had ordered him to give up his command.

Cornwallis and Calder.

While Nelson had been pursuing Villeneuve, Cornwallis had been forced to leave the blockade at Brest owing to a breakdown of health, and, considering that he got his name of " Billy Blue " by his habit of keeping the Blue Peter (" ready to sail ") flying at his masthead all the time he was forced into Torbay by stress of weather, this is not surprising. He rejoined it, however, while Nelson was in the west. On July 17th, 1805, the brig *Curieux* arrived at Plymouth from Nelson, giving Lord Barham at the Admiralty warning that Villeneuve was probably on his way back to Europe. Barham immediately ordered Cornwallis to send Rear-Admiral Stirling, with five ships, to reinforce Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder, with orders to cruise to the west of Finisterre, while Cornwallis raised the blockade of Rochefort and cruised between Finisterre and Ushant. It was a big risk to take, for it permitted the enemy to slip out of the blockaded port, but nobody knew what Villeneuve would do in Europe, and Barham determined that he should be prevented from putting his big fleet at the disposal of Napoleon at all costs.

Calder's Action.

It was a great pity that at this point the British Navy had not the services of a tactician like Nelson instead of Calder. The two fleets met on July 22nd, 1805, when a sudden lifting of the fog revealed Villeneuve's fleet to Calder, making for Ferrol. But instead of the seventeen ships which he was supposed to have, and which Calder had to meet him, he had twenty-seven. However, he tackled gamely enough, although not skilfully, and succeeded in capturing the 74-gun *Forme* and the 80-gun *San Rafael*, both Spanish ships. Then the fog came down again and put an end to the action for the time being, the two fleets gradually edging apart, until the fog lifted and proved them well out of range of one another. Neither side seemed particularly anxious to recommence the action, so that Villeneuve succeeded in taking his ships into Vigo and then working up to Ferrol, the British by this time having several ships badly crippled. Although it was not a decisive victory, Calder must be given credit for having taken two units of a vastly superior enemy fleet, and does not deserve the censure that was heaped on his head, both officially and unofficially.

Villeneuve's Missed Opportunity.

After his action, Calder returned to Finisterre, hoping to meet Nelson on his way back to Europe, and then went on to Ferrol. A reconnaissance of the port convinced him that the main body of the French was not there, and he accordingly resumed the blockade with

thirteen ships of the line. In the beginning of August four of these were detached to watch Rochefort, and it was then discovered that the twenty-seven allied ships under Villeneuve were at Corunna. Cornwallis detached Calder with eighteen ships, and it would have been a grand opportunity for the French admiral to have crushed the two British forces in detail, but he missed the opportunity. Ganteaume made ready to join him, but Villeneuve made no move, and, having a good many sick and wounded in his fleet, Ganteaume went on to Vigo. After making a belated and vain effort to join his friend, Villeneuve made his way to Cadiz. Collingwood was there with three ships, and naturally could not stand up against the big allied squadron, but, collecting a force, he returned to his station, and with a handful of ships he blockaded Cadiz and its thirty-five enemy ships. Villeneuve's orders had been to go to Brest or the Channel, and his action in making for Cadiz was not likely to be acceptable to Napoleon, who accordingly was not told where he was. When finally the Emperor did learn what had happened he immediately sent orders superseding Villeneuve, but by that time he had sailed to his fate at Trafalgar.

Ganteaume and Cornwallis.

Meanwhile, Ganteaume was as ignorant of the movements of Villeneuve as was the Emperor, but, expecting him to appear in the Channel, he made ready to attack the British fleet off Brest. He had twenty-one sail of the line and eight frigates, while Cornwallis had only seventeen line-of-battle ships and a few small craft. Nevertheless, he determined to attack the French at their anchorage in Bertheaume Bay, but Ganteaume had orders from Napoleon not to run the risk of an action which might interfere with the bigger plans that were afoot, and accordingly retired under the shelter of his batteries. These were far too powerful to be tackled by the British, so that the blockaders returned disconsolately to their stations.

The Allies at Cadiz.

Meanwhile, Collingwood off Cadiz had been reinforced by eighteen sail of the line under Calder, so that, although the allies still had a considerable superiority, there was at least a chance of a battle. On September 28th, 1805, Lord Nelson rejoined this fleet as Commander-in-Chief. In spite of his ill-health he was not satisfied to stay ashore while there was any possibility of engaging his old enemy, and naturally enough the Admiralty were very glad to have him back again. He brought with him some reinforcements, but the fleet was still lamentably short of frigates, and he only had two sizable ships to do his scouting.

The Plan of Action.

While waiting off Cadiz for the enemy to come out, and offering them every inducement to do so, Nelson drew up his plan of action for the battle which he felt to be imminent. It was not possible to carry this out in its entirety, for he anticipated that both his and the enemy's forces would be bigger than they actually were, but it contained the essential plan of tackling the enemy in two lines, his order of sailing

being the order of battle. He reckoned that if the enemy's fleet should be seen to windward in line of battle, they would probably be so extended that their van could not succour their rear. He would therefore make the second-in-command a signal to lead his ships through about the twelfth ship from the rear, or wherever he could fetch if not able to get so far advanced. His own line would cut through their centre.

> " I will suppose twenty sail of the enemy's line to be untouched. It must be some time before they could perform a manœuvre to bring their force compact to attack any part of the British fleet engaged, or to succour their own ships, which indeed would be impossible without mixing with the ships engaged.
>
> " Something must be left to chance. Nothing is sure in a sea fight beyond all others, but I look with confidence to a victory before the van of the enemy could succour their rear, and then that the British fleet would, most of them, be ready to receive their twenty sail of the line or to pursue them should they endeavour to make off."

Should the enemy wait in line of battle to receive an attack from windward, the divisions of the British fleet would be brought nearly within gunshot of the enemy's centre. The signal would be made . . . " to set all their sails in order to get as quickly as possible to the enemy's line and to cut through, beginning at the twelfth ship from the rear. Some ships may not get through their exact place, but they will always be at hand to assist their friends." This latter plan was carried through in a manner which showed Nelson's virtue as an admiral, and his remarkable foresight, in an extraordinary degree. At the same time his kind-heartedness as a friend, often at the expense of the object directly in view, was shown by the fact that he detached the 98-gun ship *Prince of Wales,* a line-of-battle ship that he could ill afford, in order that Sir Robert Calder might go back to his trial in England without indignity. A few frigates joined him, but still left the number quite inadequate, while ships had to be detached in order to fill up with water, which was generally the factor of radius in those days.

The Departure of Villeneuve.

Napoleon's order superseding Admiral Villeneuve had not arrived in Cadiz, but the previous one, insisting that he should sail at once, had, and with it came an indication of what was to follow. Villeneuve therefore hastened to obey, re-embarking the troops that he had landed when he arrived. As far as was possible the gaps in the French crews were made up with Spanish sailors, although as the feeling between the two allies was by no means cordial this procedure did not suggest very smooth working. They were ready to leave port on October 10th, but there followed a week of hard westerly gales which prevented any move, so that it was not until October 19th that Villeneuve and Admiral Gravina, in charge of the Spanish detachment, left Cadiz. Their movement was immediately reported to Nelson by the inshore squadron, although he had retired about fifty miles off shore in order to persuade the allies to come out.

The Rival Fleets.

The following is a list of the ships in the fleet under Nelson's command, and those composing the allied fleet :

(A) THE BRITISH FLEET

	Guns.	Commanders.
Weather Column.		
Victory	100	Vice-Adm. Lord Nelson. Capt. Thomas Masterman Hardy.
Temeraire	98	Capt. Eliab Harvey.
Neptune	98	Capt. Thomas Francis Fremantle.
Leviathan	74	Capt. Henry William Bayntun.
Britannia	100	Rear-Adm. William, Earl of Northesk. Capt. Charles Bullen.
Conqueror	74	Capt. Israel Pellew.
Africa	64	Capt. Henry Digby.
Agamemnon	64	Capt. Sir Edward Berry.
Ajax	74	Lieut. John Pilfold (actg.).
Orion	74	Capt. Edward Codrington.
Minotaur	74	Capt. Charles John Moore Mansfield.
Spartiate	74	Capt. Sir Francis Laforey.
Lee Column.		
Royal Sovereign	100	Vice-Adm. Cuthbert Collingwood. Capt. Edward Rotheram.
Belleisle	74	Capt. William Hergood.
Mars	74	Capt. George Duff.
Tonnant	80	Capt. Charles Tyler.
Bellerophon	74	Capt. John Cooke.
Colossus	74	Capt. James Nicoll Morris.
Achille	74	Capt. Richard King.
Dreadnought	98	Capt. John Conn.
Polyphemus	64	Capt. Robert Redmill.
Revenge	74	Capt. Robert Moorsom.
Swiftsure	74	Capt. William Gordon Rutherfurd.
Defiance	74	Capt. Philip Charles Durham.
Thunderer	74	Lieut. John Stockham (actg.).
Defence	74	Capt. George Hope.
Prince	98	Capt. Richard Grindall.
Frigates, Etc.		
Euryalus	36	Capt. Hon. Henry Blackwood.
Naiad	38	Capt. Thomas Dundas.
Phoebe	36	Capt. Hon. Thomas Bladen Capell.
Sirius	36	Capt. William Prowse.
Pickle	10	Lieut. John Richards La Penotiere.
Entreprenante	8	Lieut. Robert Benjamin Young.

(B) THE ALLIED FLEET.

	Guns.	Fate.
Rear.		
Neptuno	80	Taken but retaken by French.
Scipion	74	Taken by Sir R. J. Strachan.
Rayo	100	Taken, Wrecked.
Formidable (Flagship of Rear-Adm. P. R. M. E. Dumanoir le Pelley)	80	Taken by Sir R. J. Strachan.
Duguay Trouin	74	Taken by Sir R. J. Strachan.
San Francisco de Asis	74	
Mont Blanc	74	Taken by Sir R. J. Strachan.
Centre.		
San Agustin	74	Taken and burnt.
Heros	74	
Santissima Trinidad (Flagship of Rear-Adm. Don B. H. de Cisneros)	140	Taken and destroyed.
Bucentaure	80	Taken, retaken and finally destroyed.
Neptune	84	
San Leandro	64	
Redoubtable	74	Taken and sunk.
Van.		
Intrépide	74	Taken and burnt.
San Justo	74	
Indomptable	80	Wrecked off Rota, Cadiz.
Santa Ana (Flagship of Vice-Adm. Don I. M. de Alva) ...	112	Taken but retaken.
Fougueux	74	Taken and wrecked.
Monarca	74	Taken and wrecked.
Pluton	74	
Squadron of Observation.		
Algesiras (Flagship of Rear-Adm. C. Magon de Medine) ...	74	Taken and later retaken.
Bahama	74	Taken.
Aigle	74	Taken and wrecked.
Swiftsure	74	Taken.
Argonaute	74	
Montanez	74	
Argonauta	80	Taken and sunk.
Berwick	74	Taken and wrecked.
San Juan Nepomuceno	74	Taken.
San Ildefonso	74	Taken.
Achille	74	Taken and blown up.
Principe de Asturias (Adm. Don Federico Gravina)	112	

Frigates, Etc.

Rhin, 40; *Hortense*, 40; *Cornélie*, 40; *Thémis*, 40; *Hermione*, 40; *Furet*, 18; *Argus*, 16.

The Battle of Trafalgar.

The Franco-Spanish fleet found considerable difficulty in working out of Cadiz and getting under way, so that Nelson, who expected them to go straight to Gibraltar and had sailed to cut them off there, found that he had arrived before they did, and accordingly doubled back, searching for them in the haze. Villeneuve had divided his fleet into five squadrons, but although he appeared to have foreseen Nelson's plan of attack remarkably clearly, he made little effort to check it. Captain Blackwood in the frigate *Euryalus* got into touch with the enemy at five in the evening of the 20th, and was given orders to keep in contact through the night. It was not until the early morning of the 21st that Villeneuve discovered that the British fleet was to windward of him and not to leeward, and also that it consisted of rather more ships than he had anticipated. When day broke the enemies were some eleven miles apart, and Villeneuve immediately began to change the order of his ships in order to leave himself an avenue of retreat to Cadiz. The result was that at ten o'clock his ships were still in considerable confusion, while the British were piling on all sail to attack. In order to divert the attention of the enemy from the flagship it was suggested to Nelson that the *Temeraire* should head the line ahead of him, and for a moment he consented, but as soon as she ranged alongside the *Victory* to take the lead, the Admiral seized a megaphone and hailed her with : " I'll thank you, Captain Harvey, to keep to your proper station, which is astern of the *Victory*." Soon after ten Nelson observed Villeneuve's manœuvre to maintain his retreat to Cadiz, and made his arrangements accordingly. About 11.40 everything was ready for the attack.

The Famous Signal.

As they rapidly approached the enemy fleet, Nelson turned to Captain Blackwood of the *Euryalus*, his intimate friend as well as his devoted subordinate, who was still on the quarter-deck of the *Victory* with him, with the remark : " I'll now amuse the fleet with a signal." Turning to Lieutenant John Pascoe, who was acting as signal lieutenant, he suggested " England confides that every man will do his duty." It was pointed out to him, however, that by slightly altering the wording he would make it very much easier to hoist, and accordingly it went up as

" *England expects that every man will do his duty,*"

and was greeted with a great burst of cheering, as it was repeated from ship to ship. He then hoisted signal No. 16 at the main

" *Engage the enemy more closely* "

and went into action with it flying. As Collingwood was Vice-Admiral of the Blue, in normal circumstances his line would have gone into action under the blue ensign, but in order to avoid confusion all the British ships flew the white ensign, which is now the Navy's flag entirely.

Breaking the Line.

As the two British columns approached the enemy, the weather or first column being headed by the *Victory*, and the lee by the *Royal*

(Macpherson Collection)

THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR—NELSON WOUNDED.
(From a Mezzotint in Colours—Proof before Letters—by Annis, after Drummond)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

NELSON WOUNDED ON THE DECK OF THE "VICTORY" AT TRAFALGAR.
(From a Mezzotint, 24¼ x 35⅛ in., by J. Walker after J. Atkinson, 1806.)

The engraving reproduced above is the rarest of the various prints depicting the great hero's last moments.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR, 21 OCTOBER, 1805.
(From an Aquatint in Colours by Jeakes after Whitcombe, published 1806)

TRAFALGAR: THE STORM AFTER THE BATTLE.
(From one of a set of Three Aquatints in Colours by Hall after Serres, published 1806)

The tempestuous weather which followed the Battle of Trafalgar wrecked many of the prizes.
(From a Print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker).

Why Jack! how is this at prayers when the enemy is bearing down upon us are you afraid of them?
Afraid! No! I was only praying that the Enemies Shot may be distributed in the same proportion as the prize money the greatest part among the Officers.
Why dont you sing Amin to that, Tom!
Pub. by M'Cleary 29. Nassau St. Dublin.
EQUITY OR A Sailors PRAYER before Battle. Anecdote of the Battle of TRAFALGAR

(Macpherson Collection)

THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR: A CONTEMPORARY CARICATURE.

Sovereign under Collingwood, station keeping became almost impossible, and at the same time the long allied line bowed in the centre, so that the enemy could concentrate a heavy fire upon the advancing British divisions, a fire that caused the more casualties because at this time the ships were still built with the old-fashioned beak bow, surmounted by athwartship bulkheads of comparatively thin wood. Another cause of the heavy casualties was that the wind was light, so that not only were the ships slow in approaching, but the leading ships were left unsupported for an appreciable time. The *Royal Sovereign* was the first to reach the enemy's line, cutting it between the Spanish *Santa Ana* and the French *Indomptable*. Nelson watched the *Royal Sovereign* glide into the smoke and, turning to Captain Hardy, remarked: "See how that noble fellow Collingwood carries his ship into action." At the same time Collingwood turned to Captain Rotherham with the remark: "What would Nelson give to be here?" Nelson had kept his friend Blackwood, of the *Euryalus*, on board the *Victory* as long as he could, but as the flagship came within range he returned to his ship. At the gangway he took the Admiral's hand with: "I trust, my lord, that on my return to the *Victory* I shall find your lordship well and in possession of splendid prizes." "God bless you, Blackwood! I shall never speak to you again," was the answer. The *Victory* was taken into the thickest part of the enemy line, where the 120-gun *Santissima Trinidad* was supported by the French flagship *Bucentaure* and the smaller line-of-battle ships *Neptune* and *Redoubtable*. Before she got into action the *Victory* had sustained 50 casualties, but at half-past twelve she rounded under the stern of the *Bucentaure* and fired a 68-pounder carronade loaded with a keg of musket balls into her cabin windows. As each gun came to bear it was fired, treble-shotted, into the French flagship, which, unable to bring any weight of metal to bear on this terrible raking fire, had twenty guns dismounted by the first broadside. As the *Victory* rounded up alongside the enemy flagship, their anchors interlocked and they were soon at it hammer-and-tongs. The British ship had the advantage of her guns being magnificently and coolly served, but the French flagship had some good marksmen with hand grenades and even small mortars in her tops, and did terrible execution on the *Victory's* exposed deck.

Nelson Wounded.

It was shortly before 1.30 that Nelson, who had steadfastly refused to cover up the stars on his coat, was hit by a bullet from the mizzen-top of the *Redoubtable*. Hardy was beside him when he fell, but was not in time to catch him. "They've done for me at last, Hardy." "I hope not," Hardy exclaimed. "Yes," he replied, "my backbone is shot through." The incident was witnessed from the deck of the Spanish flagship, which sent up a tremendous cheer, but in order not to discourage the *Victory's* men, Nelson threw his handkerchief over his face as he was carried down below, and laid in one of the midshipmen's berths in the cockpit. Dr. Beatty and the four officers who were there did their best for him, but he was convinced that he

was mortally wounded; his legs were already paralysed and he was in agony. The bullet had entered at the shoulder and gone through the chest into the spine; there was no chance of his recovery. Dr. Alexander Scott, the chaplain, prayed with him and received his commands. "Doctor, I'm done," he said. "I have to leave Lady Hamilton and my daughter Horatia as a legacy to my country." There were renewed signs of fighting overhead, for the *Victory's* deck had been practically cleared and a handful of men from the *Redoubtable* had contrived to board. The possession of the deck was bitterly contested until the *Temeraire* ranged up on the other side of the Frenchman, who, after losing 522 of her crew of 645, was compelled to strike. The anxiety over, Hardy went down to the cockpit in response to his chief's message, and was immediately asked the progress of the battle. Twelve of the enemy ships had struck, but several fresh French ships were bearing down on the *Victory*. The concussion as one came alongside caused Nelson intense pain, and Hardy had to hurry on deck again. Again the dying Admiral spoke of Lady Hamilton and sent an affectionate message of farewell to Collingwood. Hardy came down with the news that the new attack was repulsed and fourteen or fifteen of the enemy ships had struck. "That is well, but I bargained for twenty. Anchor, Hardy, anchor." The captain asked whether Collingwood should not give the order and assume command of the fleet. "Not while I live, Hardy." Again he rallied. "Don't throw me overboard, Hardy. Take care of poor Lady Hamilton, Hardy, take care of poor Lady Hamilton." And then the final: "Kiss me, Hardy. Thank God I have done my duty!"

Nelson's Avenger.

It was Midshipman John Pollard, signal midshipman of the *Victory*, who is usually given the credit of having avenged Nelson. He and the signal quartermaster, King, noticed the damage that was being done by the soldiers in the *Redoubtable's* tops, and, taking muskets and a keg of bullets that had been left by the marines when they were ordered elsewhere, kept up a steady fire at these sharpshooters, until finally not one was left. After the action Captain Hardy congratulated the youngster warmly on having avenged the death of the Commander-in-Chief. It must be admitted, however, that there is some doubt as to the identity of the Frenchman who actually killed Nelson, many claiming the distinction after the battle.

The Progress of the Battle.

The line being broken, the action speedily developed into a series of fierce yardarm-to-yardarm conflicts. The way the *Temeraire* saved the *Victory* by tackling the disengaged side of the *Redoubtable* has already been told, but no sooner was she there than the French *Fougueux*, thinking from her crippled state aloft that she was an easy victim, came alongside, and was received with such a broadside that she became unmanageable. As she fouled the British ship, she was immediately made fast and Lieutenant Kennedy boarded her and took

possession with only a handful of men. The *Redoubtable's* main was then shot away and fell on the *Temeraire,* forming a bridge over which another party boarded and took possession. The French *Bucentaure* received broadside after broadside as different ships passed her, until finally she surrendered to the *Conqueror.* Admiral Villeneuve offered his sword to Captain James Atcherley of the Royal Marines, but he would not take possession, and eventually the French admiral surrendered to the First Lieutenant of H.M.S. *Mars.* H.M.S. *Bellerophon,* always a hard fighter, excelled herself in this action. At one time she was in action with the *Aigle, Monarca, San Juan Nepomuceno, Bahama,* and the French *Swiftsure* at the same time, the last-named not to be mistaken for the British ship of the same name. The *Aigle* was the closest and did very considerable damage, throwing shells and hand grenades into the *Bellerophon's* open ports. When Captain Cooke was shot by a musket ball, his first lieutenant, Tunby, fought the ship gallantly to the end. The *Bellerophon's* yeoman of signals, Christopher Beatty, was an old man, but when her ensign was shot away he climbed the mizzen rigging as coolly as possible, and, while the French marksmen held their fire in admiration of his bravery, he made fast a new ensign to the shrouds. With all her masts shot away and absolutely unmanageable, the *Bellerophon* remained at the end of the day firing at any opponent who ventured within range of her guns. Similar actions between single ships and groups were taking place all down the line of battle, but one after another the enemy ships were forced to strike or sheer off out of action.

The Remnant of the Allied Fleet.

When the battle was turning against the allies, Gravina, with the rear division, began to make the best of his way to safety. He has been bitterly blamed for this in French circles, but in extenuation of his desertion of the allies it must be remembered that Spain was forced into the war and had absolutely no heart in it. Then another five Spanish ships slipped out of the action and made to join him. The British ships to leeward could not prevent them, and they were soon joined by others. Eventually four ships under Dumanoir le Pelley got away, and eleven others followed Gravina towards Cadiz. The former division was encountered by a superior British force later on.

The Gale after the Battle.

It had been Nelson's intention to anchor immediately after the action, and he gave Hardy instructions to that effect, but, rather than hurt Collingwood's feelings, the captain referred to him and he promptly refused to do so. By the evening, however, it became obviously necessary, because there was a gale coming up from the southward. A good many of the damaged ships and their prizes were soon in trouble. First of all it was the *Redoubtable,* which had been hammered severely. The rising sea made it very difficult to get her people off, and a good many of them, together with eighteen British seamen, were drowned when she sank next day. The captured *Fougueux* drove ashore with heavy

loss, the *Algesiras* and *Bucentaure* were both recaptured by the prisoners on board, the former getting into Cadiz and the latter being wrecked. On the morning of the 23rd a French squadron, under Commodore de Cosmao-Kerjulien, put to sea and contrived to retake the *Neptuno* and *Santa Ana*, but in doing so he lost the 80-gun ship *Indomptable*, and the *Rayo*, rolling out her masts, was forced to surrender to a smaller British ship. Other ships became unmanageable and were wrecked or else had to be scuttled by their captors, with the result that, of all the prizes, only the *San Ildefonso*, the *San Juan Nepomuceno*, the *Bahama*, and the French *Swiftsure* remained as trophies for the victors. Had Nelson's advice to anchor the fleet been taken, the result might have been very different.

The Fugitives.

Mention has already been made of the four ships that contrived to escape under Rear-Admiral Dumanoir le Pelley. The flagship was the 80-gun *Formidable*, and with her were the 74-gun *Duguay Trouin*, which should have been destroyed by Hood at Toulon in 1793 and which is still preserved at Falmouth, the *Mont Blanc* and the *Scipion*. On November 2nd they fell in with several British frigates, who informed Captain Sir Richard Strachan, who was in command of a fleet of four line-of-battle ships and four frigates. On the morning of the 3rd the two squadrons came into contact, and, after putting up a very gallant defence, the Frenchmen were forced to strike one after the other. Thus it came about that there was greater material gain from the minor action than from the great victory of Trafalgar.

The Aftermath.

Nelson's request to Hardy that his body should not be thrown overboard was respected, and he was brought home preserved in spirits, to be given an impressive public funeral at St. Paul's. His request that the nation would take care of Lady Hamilton and his natural daughter, Horatia, was disregarded, and she was allowed to die in abject poverty, although it must not be forgotten that, had she been a little more prudent, she might have lived at least in comfort. His eldest surviving brother was made an earl, given a pension of £6,000 a year, and the sum of £108,000 for the purchase of an estate. His two sisters received £10,000 apiece, and Lady Nelson an annuity of £2,000 until she died in 1831. Collingwood was made a baron, and Hardy a baronet, all the flag officers and captains received gold medals, and a large number of lieutenants, especially first lieutenants who brought their ships out of the action, were promoted. A medal was privately struck for everybody who took part in the battle, but the Government did not issue one to anybody below the rank of post-captain until 1839. Villeneuve was released on parole and allowed to return to France in the spring of 1806, but a few days later, while at Rennes on his way to Paris, he was found dead in his room. It was officially stated that he had committed suicide, while enemies of Napoleon declared that he had been murdered. The wrangle over the circumstances of his death went on for years.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

EARL SPENCER (1758-1834).
(From a Proof Mezzotint after Copley, 1801)

Although his administration as First Lord of the Admiralty has been severely criticised, to Spencer must go the credit of recognising the merit of Nelson and many other actions which made for the British success in the war at sea.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE "ST. FIORENZO" CAPTURING THE FRENCH NATIONAL FRIGATE, "LA PSYCHE," 14 FEB., 1805.
(From an Aquatint in Colours by Clarke, published 1806)

The capture took place off Vizagapatam, after a gallant defence which excited the admiration of the world

THE BOMBARDMENT OF COPENHAGEN, 1807.
(From an Aquatint in Colours after Rugendas)

Napoleon's threat to seize Copenhagen and the Danish Fleet [illegible] and destruction of the city by the British

(*Macpherson Collection*)

VIEW OF CONSTANTINOPLE FROM SCUTARI.
(From an Aquatint in Colours by Himely after Garneray).

The print shows Constantinople as it appeared about the time when Duckworth forced the Dardanelles.

The End of the Invasion Plans.

Napoleon's plans for the Grand Army which he had collected to invade England had changed in detail almost from week to week, and when opportunity offered he had put the men to good use elsewhere. He had always hoped that he would have his opportunity of throwing them across the Channel, however, although he made the terrible mistake of imagining that he could do it if the British fleet were drawn away for twenty-four hours, forgetting the fact that it would still be " in being " and of the very greatest danger to him. As soon as Nelson cornered Villeneuve and his Spanish allies, however, the promise of these plans became dull; the result of Trafalgar made it impossible. A number of French ships were still in existence and liable to be very dangerous to British commerce and possessions, while the privateers still left the ports in swarms. But the danger of invasion, which was a very real danger for a long time and overshadowed everything else in England, passed with Trafalgar, although the army was not disposed of for some years.

CHAPTER V—AFTER TRAFALGAR

Although the decisive victory of Trafalgar accounted for the main French fleet, there were still many enemy ships in existence, and these soon made their presence felt in spite of the close British blockade. It was also a disadvantage for the British that there was no great enemy to tackle, for this was the greatest incentive to keenness, and the weary blockade and constant pursuit of elusive privateers were but poor substitutes for the possibilities of a great fleet action. The commerce of France was crushed entirely, but she still held the interior lines and was to a very great extent self-supporting.

The Sortie from Brest.

In December, 1805, Cornwallis was forced away from his position off Brest, and a portion of the French fleet there, consisting of eleven ships of the line, four frigates and three small craft, slipped out, under the command of Vice-Admiral Leissègues, with Rear-Admiral Willaumez as second in command. Immediately they were out they divided into two divisions, the one under the Vice-Admiral to take a thousand troops to San Domingo and then to raid Jamaica or Newfoundland, and the other, under the Rear-Admiral, to go to the Cape of Good Hope on its way to the West Indies, reducing St. Helena on the way home. The ships had been out for eleven days before the British Admiralty got any news of their movements, and even then their information was faulty, and the weather prevented the British fleet from going in pursuit until well on into January. Two fleets were then sent out, one under Vice-Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, consisting of seven sail of the line, and the other under Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, with six sail. Leissègues' squadron fell in with a convoy, which promptly sent warning to all the British forces in the neighbour-

hood, so that Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Duckworth, in command of eight sail of the line, received news that the French were out. Duckworth immediately set off in pursuit but, fearing that some of his ships might be cut off, he shortened sail to concentrate his force, and so let the force under Willaumez escape. Duckworth then made for the West Indies, where he supposed the French to be heading.

San Domingo, 1806.

When Duckworth was waiting at St. Kitts he received information that three French sail of the line had been observed making for San Domingo, and he immediately weighed in pursuit. Arriving off the port, they discovered nine French sail in harbour, eight from the Brest fleet and one other. They had landed their troops on the island and were about to sail when they were discovered on February 6th, 1806. The British fleet was far superior in point of gun-fire, but it suffered badly from the unequal sailing qualities of the different ships, with the result that several hours elapsed before Duckworth contrived to come to close action. The French made a gallant defence but they were outmatched, and with the exception of three frigates that were allowed to escape they were all driven ashore or forced to strike. Three French ships were taken away as prizes, but the *Brave* foundered on her way across the Atlantic, the *Alexandre* was so knocked about that she was not worth keeping, and only the *Jupiter*, of 74 guns, was added to the British Navy under the name of *Maida*. This successful action saved Duckworth a court-martial for having allowed Willaumez to escape.

Willaumez' Cruise.

Meanwhile, having had a narrow escape from Duckworth, Rear-Admiral Willaumez was making the best of his opportunities. He learnt from a prize that the Cape of Good Hope had already fallen into the hands of the British, so that he modified his orders and, dividing his force into three parts, he attempted to carry out a corsair campaign with a rendezvous in Martinique. Here they refitted, and, slipping out again without being observed by the British, made good use of their time by cutting up the commerce in the West Indies. They very nearly captured a huge British convoy that was collecting at Tortola, but the British squadron under Rear-Admiral the Hon. Alexander Inglis Cochrane appeared in time and drove them off. Willaumez then cruised off the Bahama Banks, and in the hope of making a good haul of British commerce, he seized and detained every neutral merchantman that he met, in order to prevent news of his position being taken to the British. He would have succeeded in this had it not been for the action of Jerome Bonaparte.

Jerome Bonaparte.

Jerome Bonaparte, youngest brother of the Emperor and afterwards King of Westphalia, had taken to the sea as a youngster of eighteen and had risen rapidly to be the captain of the 74-gun ship *Veteran* with Willaumez. He was quite a young man at this time and

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1806.
(From a Contemporary Aquatint in Colours by Edward Orme)

greatly prided himself on his relationship to the Emperor, but he was utterly useless as a seaman and had to be dry-nursed by the experienced officers of his ship's company. Cruising on the Bahama Banks bored him, so he slipped away without permission and returned to France. He fell in with a British convoy protected only by a 22-gun sloop, and burned six of them, but when he approached the French coast he was pursued by a British frigate force, and only escaped with difficulty. Soon afterwards he was made a rear-admiral, but in 1807 he decided to become a soldier instead, and was elevated to the throne of Westphalia soon afterwards. As he had left the fleet without notifying the admiral, Willaumez scattered and searched for him, fearing that he might be cut off by the British, and by so doing missed the Jamaica convoy for which he was waiting. His fleet was badly damaged by a hurricane, but force after force of British ships which went out in search of it contrived to miss it, and while one or two of his ships came to grief, the majority were blockaded in American ports, and only two, including the flagship, contrived to reach France in safety.

La Meillerie's Venture.

After the departure of the Brest fleet, Lord St. Vincent took over the blockade of that port, while Cornwallis moved down to Cadiz, where four of the French frigates that had escaped from Trafalgar were still sheltering. In the hope that they would be tempted out to sea, Cornwallis repeated Nelson's tactics of taking his heavy ships out of sight and leaving two light ships, a frigate and a brig, to watch the port. Unfortunately, a gale took him too far away, when the four French frigates and the brig *Furet* slipped out. Captain Mundy, in the 38-gun frigate *Hydra,* sent the brig *Moselle* in search of Cornwallis, while he himself gallantly chased the French fleet and captured the *Furet,* but was unable to do anything to the frigates, which made their way to the West Indies, and, after operating there for a short time, returned to Rochefort. Captain Keats was blockading in the 74-gun ship *Mars* and was on the look-out when they arrived. At first it looked as though they would overwhelm the British ship, but as she approached them the three best sailers left the *Rhin* to her fate and made their way to Bordeaux, where they were blockaded again.

The Capture of Capri.

Although the French fleet had been defeated at sea, the army was far from defeated on land, and when King Ferdinand of Naples permitted British and Russian troops to land in his territory in October, 1805, he fell under the severe displeasure of Napoleon. Unfortunately, as soon as the Emperor had declared him deposed, the Russians and British left him, and, the French army advancing, Ferdinand abandoned Naples as well. To assist him Collingwood detached Rear-Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith, who took over the command at Messina of an Anglo-Neapolitan fleet. The Neapolitans still held out at Gaeta, which Smith reinforced with ammunition and guns before he went on to create a diversion at Naples. The island of Capri offered him a good advance base, and accordingly the fleet opened a heavy

fire on its defences, after which a storming party of Royal Marines and seamen captured the island with a trifling loss. He then picked up about 5,000 British infantry and assisted in the invasion of Calabria, where the battle of Maida was won in spite of heavy superiority in French numbers. Sicily was thus able to breathe again and the munitions that had been collected for her invasion were transferred to the Neapolitans.

The Cape of Good Hope.

At the end of 1805 Sir Home Riggs Popham was given the command of a fleet of three 64-gun ships and five smaller craft for the capture of the Dutch colony on the Cape of Good Hope. The preparations were carried out with admirable secrecy, and the squadron was joined by a transport fleet carrying 5,000 troops, the whole making rendezvous at Robben Island, Table Bay, on January 4th, 1806. The heavy surf beating on the shore made a landing difficult, but eventually it was carried out at Saldanha and Blauwberg Bays. The army, assisted by the ships and a naval brigade, obtained the capitulation of the colony in a very short time with trifling loss. The Dutch contrived to burn the 68-gun ship *Bato* in Simon's Bay, but the British were to a certain extent consoled by the fact that the French 40-gun frigate *Volontaire* sailed into the roadstead under the impression that it was still in Dutch hands, and was soon forced to strike.

The River Plate Expedition.

Having taken possession of the Cape of Good Hope with such small losses, Popham and General Baird heard that the inhabitants of the River Plate district were so discontented with Spanish rule that it would not require a large British expedition to capture the whole of the colony. Popham did not consider that there was time to get the permission of the Admiralty at home, so on his own responsibility he collected six ships and a few transports and, embarking some more troops at St. Helena, he arrived at Buenos Aires on June 16th, 1806. The troops, assisted by a brigade of seamen and marines, 1,500 men in all, landed on June 27th and routed a force of 2,000 Spaniards. The Viceroy of the province signed the capitulation on July 2nd, and H.M.S. *Narcissus* returned to England with rather more than a million dollars booty. Buenos Aires was then left in charge of the troops, but although the province had been duly surrendered, not all the inhabitants were agreeable to this. A Franco-Spanish officer named Colonel Liniers collected a party of malcontents, and, aided by bad weather which kept the ships at a distance, was finally able to force the British garrison to capitulate on generous terms. An attempt on Montevideo was frustrated by the shallows preventing the ships from getting within effective range. Meanwhile, the Admiralty had been apprised of the enterprise and had sent out Rear-Admiral Charles Stirling to supersede Popham, who had to stand his trial at Portsmouth in the following spring. However, considering the success of his early operations, the court contented itself with severely reprimanding him for leaving his station.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

CAPTURE OF FOUR DANISH GUNBOATS BY BOAT PARTIES UNDER LIEUT. SAMUEL BLYTH, OF H.M. FRIGATE "QUEBEC" OFF THE ISLE OF NORDERNEY, 2 AUGUST, 1811.

(From an Aquatint in Colours by J. H. Clarke)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

BRITISH FIRE-SHIPS ATTACKING THE FRENCH FLEET IN BASQUE ROADS, APRIL, 1809.
(From Aquatint in Colours, after a Painting by R. Dodd)

In this action Captain Frederick Marryat, the novelist, distinguished himself.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

H.M. 18-GUN BRIG " RECRUIT " GALLANTLY RESISTING AN ATTACK BY A FRENCH 74 IN APRIL, 1809.
(From a Contemporary Drawing by W. Terry)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE CAPTURE OF MAURITIUS, 1810.
(From an Aquatint in Colours by J. Clark, after H. Temple, 65th Regt.)

This print gives a view from the deck of the transport Upton Castle *of the landing of the British Army as sketched by one of the officers taking part.*

THE CASTLE OF RAMMEKEN, ISLAND OF WALCHEREN
(From an Engraving Published in 1810)

The disastrous Walcheren Expedition was one of the most

The Northern Coalition.

At the beginning of the century Napoleon had very seriously embarrassed British movement by the encouragement of the Northern Coalition, and now he proposed to repeat that manœuvre. By the Treaty of Tilsit he obtained possession of a number of useful men-of-war from the northern nations, and he then proceeded to coerce Denmark, who was in no position to make any objection, into closing the Sound against British commerce and into lending him her ships. The British determined to get ahead of this movement, and in July, 1807, Admiral James Gambier sailed from Yarmouth with a big fleet. His orders were to request Denmark to hand over her fleet to Britain until the conclusion of the war, when it should be restored intact; if this were refused, to seize it. It was a high-handed proceeding, but Napoleon's plans made it imperative. Although the Danes were a small nation they had tremendous pride, and, while sympathising with the British position, the Crown Prince politely refused the request and set about defending Copenhagen. It was principally the ships that were wanted, so that when the 42-gun frigate *Frederikscoarn* attempted to slip away to Norway, the 22-gun sloop *Comus* was sent in pursuit. She requested the Dane to surrender, but the demand was refused. In about three-quarters of an hour the Danish ship was carried by boarding, after a very creditable action.

Copenhagen, 1807.

There was no ill-feeling against the Danes, the whole operations being of a precautionary character, so that no great haste was made to advance on Copenhagen. Meanwhile, however, the Danish troops and small craft attacked most gallantly whenever the opportunity offered, and on September 1st, when the French were steadily advancing, preparations were completed to bombard Copenhagen. A demand to surrender was met with a request for time, but this was refused, and next day the bombardment commenced and the town was soon in flames. It continued intermittently until the evening of September 10th, when the whole city was threatened with destruction by fire, and not until then did the Governor agree to the surrender of the fleet. The British offer of a safe conduct for the women and children out of the city before the bombardment having been neglected, there was a deplorable loss of life among the non-combatant population, but of the combatants the losses were comparatively light considering the heavy fire. The result was that a large number of ships of all kinds, ranging from 84-gun line-of-battle ships to gunboats mounting two small carronades, fell into the hands of the British, and some of them were remarkably fine vessels. Most of the gunboats, however, had to be abandoned in rough weather on the way to England, and only four line-of-battle ships were refitted for the British Navy. For this service Admiral Gambier was given a peerage, although there was little enough glory in it.

The Capture of Helgoland.

While these operations were being carried on against Copenhagen, the island of Helgoland, which was regarded as being of very little value, was quietly taken possession of by H.M.S.'s *Majestic* and *Quebec*. Neither the Danes nor the British had any idea of fortifying it in the way the Germans did after it had been handed over to them in 1890.

Trouble with Turkey.

Napoleon also caused trouble in the Near East, when he intrigued to bring about a quarrel between Turkey, Russia and England. It was not difficult to do this in the case of the two first-named powers, who were always willing enough to fly at one another's throats, but it was entirely gratuitous in the case of Britain, and it caused Collingwood at Cadiz to detach a division to force its way to Constantinople. This division was under Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Louis, and consisted of three ships of the line and two small craft. Admiral Louis proceeded in H.M.S. *Canopus* without opposition to Seraglio Point, leaving the rest of his force near Abydos. He contrived to get away with the English colony at Constantinople, which the Sultan had intended to seize, and returned to Tenedos, where he was joined by Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth with reinforcements. His instructions were a little obscure, but they appeared to intend him to take his terms to the Porte and to bombard Constantinople if they were refused. He accordingly sailed with his flag in the *Royal George* (100), his fleet consisting of eight line-of-battle ships, two frigates and two bomb-ketches. The Turks, with French engineers, were rapidly improving their defences, and Duckworth was not at all confident of his own power to carry out his orders, the more so as H.M.S. *Ajax* (74) caught fire and blew up just outside the Dardanelles with a loss of nearly 300 lives. On February 19th, 1807, Duckworth stood in through the Straits with his fleet, being received with a fairly hot fire from the forts as he went through. The British Ambassador to Turkey was on board, and the Admiral weakly allowed himself to be persuaded not to return the fire, an action which he bitterly regretted when the unsilenced batteries gave him a warm reception coming down. Inside the Narrows the Turkish fleet attempted to make a stand, but was met with such a hot fire that practically the whole of it was either taken or driven ashore. Reaching Constantinople, Duckworth again gave a lamentable exhibition of weakness, of which the Turks were not slow to take full advantage. Eventually their land batteries made things so uncomfortable that he decided to retire, but by the time he reached the forts they had been greatly strengthened and did considerable damage to his fleet. It was a long time before British prestige recovered from the blow that it had been dealt by his weakness.

Sidney Smith in the Tagus.

Napoleon also attempted to cause trouble between Portugal and Britain, but, having his hands very full in other directions, he took no notice of the Prince Regent's refusal to throw in his lot with France

until October, 1807. Then the French Army under Junot forced him to consider his own safety, and he agreed to seize a number of British subjects and British property in Lisbon, although he did everything that he could to help his old friends. Meanwhile, Sir William Sidney Smith arrived at Lisbon with his flag in H.M.S. *Hibernia*, accompanied by eight other sail of the line, and established a rigid blockade of the river. The Prince Regent entered into negotiations with him, and the Portuguese royal family was taken to Brazil in British ships.

The French at Sea.

Meanwhile, the French Rear-Admiral Allemand, at Rochefort, in January, 1808, found the British blockading squadron under Sir Richard Strachan away from its station, and took the opportunity to chase away the watching frigates and go down to join Ganteaume in the Mediterranean. It was some time before Strachan's frigates found a chance to inform him of the escape of the enemy, who by that time was well on his way to Gibraltar. He joined Ganteaume in Toulon on February 6th, having destroyed a number of British merchant ships on the way down, and together they left Toulon with quite a considerable fleet. They landed troops at Corfu and then cruised amongst the islands. Captain Jahleel Brenton in H.M.S. *Spartan* (38) hung on to the French fleet with the utmost gallantry, sending his launch under one of his lieutenants to warn the Admiral. Mishap after mishap prevented Collingwood coming up to the enemy, and he has been severely censured for not taking all the precautions that he might have done to prevent the French from slipping past him. Meanwhile, the presence of Ganteaume's fleet was making a big difference to the land operations in Italy and Sicily, causing the evacuation of Calabria, before it returned to Toulon, where it was closely watched by Vice-Admiral Thornbrough.

Spain in Revolt.

Early in the year 1808 the Spanish, who had long tired of the French alliance, rose in active enmity, and asked the aid of the British Government. The French squadron which had been sheltering in Cadiz was seized, and hostilities between Britain and Spain were declared to be at an end. A small army under Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley was landed, and the British frigates on the Spanish coast were able to render the patriots immense assistance. The Peninsular War, as it became, was principally a land operation, but the lines of communication were by sea and had to be kept open, while there was generally a good deal for the frigates to do. A Russian squadron that had been sheltering in the Tagus, under Admiral Seniavin, who had served in the British Navy and was very highly regarded in the British service, surrendered and the crews were repatriated.

Baltic Operations.

In 1808 an expedition was sent to the Baltic to help the Swedes against Denmark and Russia, and although the army did little, the navy had quite a busy time of it. Vice-Admiral Sir James Saumarez was fly-

ing his flag in the *Victory*, and he had a force of twelve line-of-battle ships, five frigates and a number of small craft. The Russians had a powerful fleet in the Baltic, which was ruled entirely by the French. Captain Thomas Byam Martin was in command of the 74-gun ship *Implacable* (the old French *Duguay-Trouin* that was captured after Trafalgar), and has left a very full account of his part in the operations, which has been published by the Navy Records Society. No decisive actions took place, but there were one or two exciting brushes, and, generally speaking, the operations were carried out in excellent fashion.

Basque Roads, 1809.

Admiral Allemand had taken up his position off the Isle d'Aix near the Basque Roads, whence Gambier, who had a large fleet there, was ordered in April, 1809, to eject him. Captain Lord Cochrane was with the fleet and immediately evolved a scheme for destroying the enemy with fire-ships, he himself being given command of the operations to the disgust of some of his seniors who were with the fleet. On April 11th he started his first attack, and although it was not effective materially, it threw the French into confusion and had a big influence on the subsequent course of operations. Several ships ran aground and others got into difficulties, but it was not until two o'clock in the next afternoon that Admiral Gambier answered Cochrane's signal to come with his heavy ships and complete the discomfiture of the enemy. Then there were further difficulties with regard to tide and wind, so that, by the evening, only four of the French ships had been accounted for. Cochrane then hastily constructed more fire-ships and launched them against the enemy, but the opportunity had passed and it never returned. The operations continued for over a week, but little was done after the first attack. Cochrane was furious that the work which he had done was thrown away, and from his seat in Parliament attacked Gambier unmercifully. The Admiral demanded a court-martial, but every effort was made to prevent anything going against him, and it ended in his being most honourably acquitted and receiving the thanks of both Houses, in spite of considerable opposition. Popular feeling was with Cochrane, however, and he was made a Knight of the Bath, although it was most unusual for a man of such junior rank as post-captain to receive this honour. Napoleon summed up the matter nicely when he said that Cochrane might and would have carried the French ships out had Gambier supported him; that his admiral was a fool, but the British commander-in-chief was every bit as bad.

The Walcheren Expedition, 1809.

The worst British naval fiasco about this time was the Walcheren Expedition of 1809, when a huge armament was collected in the Downs for the purpose of seizing the mouth of the River Scheldt and preventing the French using the ships inside. This force consisted of 27 sail of the line, 28 frigates, 60 smaller craft and 120 cutters, gunboats and the like, together with 400 transports carrying an army of 40,000, some of

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE BOATS OF H.M. SLOOP " PROCRIS " CAPTURING SIX FRENCH GUNBOATS OFF THE COAST OF JAVA, 31 JULY, 1810.

(From an Aquatint in Colours by C. Rosenberg, after W. J. Huggins)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

H.M. 38-GUN FRIGATE "HEBRUS" CAPTURING THE 40-GUN FRENCH "ETOILE" OFF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS, MARCH, 1814.

(From an Aquatint in Colours by R. Havell, after Pocock, 1815)

After the action both ships drifted ashore but were salved.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

NAPOLEON GOING ON BOARD THE " BELLEROPHON " AT ROCHEFORT.

(From an Engraving by Jazet, Published " à Londres, Chez Palmer au Museum Waterloo ")

the cavalry horses being carried in the men-of-war. The fleet was under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, while the army was under Lieutenant-General the Earl of Chatham, William Pitt's elder brother. Strachan's reputation was already high, and his behaviour in this expedition showed that he was a fine admiral, but the general's was nothing but a political appointment and he was quite useless, although the wits of the time divided the blame, the current lampoon running:

"Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Was waiting for the Earl of Chatham,
His lordship, with his sabre drawn,
Attended on Sir Richard Strachan."

Some of the small craft were used as navigation marks to help the way in along the tortuous channels among the shoals, and on July 29th, 1809, the transport fleet worked its way in. There was considerable delay in landing the troops, principally owing to bad weather, and the French and Dutch forces naturally took full advantage of this. The enemy fleet was under Rear-Admiral Missiessy, who retired up the Scheldt and protected his fleet with a boom. The duties of the fleet were therefore principally bombarding enemy positions and landing a small naval brigade, but it did well in capturing the island of Walcheren and the port of Flushing. After that the general did nothing, and fever having taken a very much heavier toll of the British troops than the enemy fire, the army withdrew. The most important work of reducing the fortress of Antwerp was left unattempted. For political reasons no blame was attached to the general, and a 74-gun ship that was taken to pieces when she was discovered on the slips and was subsequently put together at Woolwich, was named H.M.S. *Chatham* in his honour.

Baudin's Cruise.

In October, 1809, Rear-Admiral Baudin, with three line-of-battle ships and two big frigates, escorting a transport fleet, slipped past the British blockading fleet at Toulon and made for Barcelona. Rear-Admiral George Martin pursued him with six line-of-battle ships, his flag flying in H.M.S. *Canopus,* a prize from the Battle of the Nile, which was always famous for her sailing. The fleets met on the morning of October 24th, but the action did not take place until the 25th, off Cette. One French 74 and a 40-gun frigate contrived to find shelter in the little harbour of Frontignan, but the flagship and the other line-of-battle ship had to run ashore on the coast there, while the second frigate had already parted company. Martin therefore set about destroying as many ships of the convoy as he could, while he made things so hot for the stranded ships that their own people blew them up. Part of the convoy got into Rosas Bay, where it was protected by powerful batteries and four small French men-of-war, but Collingwood detached Captain Hallowell with eight men-of-war to destroy them. The French were all ready, but the boats of the fleet went into the port in gallant style and

carried the men-of-war one after another. They then settled with the convoy, every ship of which was either burnt at her moorings or taken out as prize, the butcher's bill for that part of the action being heavier.

The Capture of Martinique.

Meanwhile, the Island of Martinique had proved itself a serious menace to British commerce, and it was determined to capture it. Vice-Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, the hero of 1794, was the Governor, but the island was very short of stores and munitions and was really unfit for defence. Rear-Admiral the Hon. Alexander Cochrane was ordered to reduce the island and was given a powerful fleet and an army of 10,000 men. The French garrison was less than 2,500 of all arms, but the island had nearly 300 guns in its various batteries and there were one or two men-of-war in the port. When the British landed, the French Colonial Militia, which consisted of nearly half the garrison, disbanded itself and went quietly home. A complete occupation followed in a few days, the place surrendering with very trifling loss to the British, and Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse went home to be broken by a court-martial in Paris, although it is difficult to see what he could have done with the material at his disposal. An independent naval force had already captured Cayenne in French Guiana, a very smart piece of work by a small squadron.

Collingwood.

In the year 1810 the Navy lost a great figure in the person of Admiral Lord Collingwood, Nelson's intimate friend and subordinate. His was a peculiar nature and he was not popular in the service, Nelson apparently being the only man outside his family who could understand him and get the best out of him. He fought at the Battle of Bunker's Hill in charge of a party of seamen and did so well that he was specially promoted, but two years later he was tried for neglect of duty. He was acquitted, but the court recommended him to go about his work more cheerfully in future, which he never did as long as he was in the service. As a captain he nearly always followed Nelson and gave him the best service that a man could give. He was dour and bitter to everybody round him, and when he was left in command of the Mediterranean fleet after the Battle of Trafalgar, he immersed himself in every possible detail that might well have been left to his subordinates. By this means he wore himself out and brought about his own death quite unnecessarily, for he did not give up the command and return to England until he was prostrate, and he never saw land again. He has generally been compared, rather unfairly, with Nelson, but although he was never in the same class as his chief as a commander-in-chief, he was an exceedingly useful diplomatist who carried out very difficult negotiations in an excellent manner.

The Capture of Amboyna and Banda, 1810.

The question as to a settlement of Amboyna in the Moluccas had always been a thorn in the side of the British ever since the famous

massacre many years before, and in the early part of 1810 Rear-Admiral William O'Brien Drury, in command of the East Indian station, determined to attempt its capture. The port had powerful defences and a strong garrison, while the fleet that could attack only consisted of two frigates and a sloop. A landing force was made up of 400 soldiers and as many seamen and marines as could be spared, and the island was captured with practically no loss on the part of the British, the whole operation being carried out in magnificent fashion.

The next task undertaken by the fleet, by then reinforced both with ships and troops, was the capture of the Spice Islands, Banda being the principal one. There were some 1,500 Dutch troops on the island of Banda, but by landing in a storm the British contrived to slip in undetected and took work after work before the enemy were really aware of their presence. Dutch troops to the number of 1,300 surrendered to under 200 British, Captain Christopher Cole, of H.M.S. *Caroline*, getting well merited praise and a knighthood for the manner in which he carried it out.

Mauritius.

What Martinique was in the west, Mauritius, or the Isle de France as it was then called, had always been in the Indian Ocean, and the privateers and cruisers that operated from Port Louis were a sad trial to British commerce. Vice-Admiral Albemarle Bertie therefore collected all the available ships and a force of 10,000 men, and determined to attack the island in the latter part of the year 1810. The French General Decaen only had about 1,300 regular troops with him, and his 10,000 militia proving hopelessly unreliable the island fell with remarkably few casualties, the success not only meaning an invaluable position but also numerous men-of-war, merchantmen and French prizes in the harbour.

The Operations Against Java, 1811.

At this time Napoleon was credited with a plan of raising a huge navy to sweep the British out of the East Indies, and Admiral Drury was getting things ready for him out there by taking possession of as much territory as he could cover. Unfortunately, he died before these plans could be carried into effect, although by that time they were complete in every particular and everything was ready to be handed over to Captain Christopher Cole, who was well worthy of the trust. The expedition was prepared at Madras and sailed in April, 1811. They reached the Javan coast in June, to discover that the local force had been doing good work while they were on the way. Of these operations the most remarkable was Lieutenant Edmund Lyons's work at Marrack, which was regarded as the finest harbour in Java and absolutely unassailable. Quite a big expedition had abandoned the attack previously, but Lyons, with two ships' boats, actually captured the principal fort in the place, and, although he saw that he could not hold it against superior forces, he persuaded the enemy to make some very

expensive attacks before he slipped away with only four men wounded. Unfortunately, the action was carried out without orders, to say the least of it, so that Lyons was not promoted, as he would otherwise have been, for his gallant exploit Batavia was captured without very much opposition, but when Rear-Admiral the Hon. Robert Stopford arrived he found that there was still some hard fighting before the operations ended in success.

Incidents in Europe.

With the exception of a sortie by Admiral Allemand from Lorient, affairs in Europe dragged a weary length until November, 1813, when Vice-Admiral Comte Emeriau slipped out of Toulon with his fleet while Sir Edward Pellew was driven from his station for the time. The French had a powerful squadron, but they took no advantage of it, and, on the appearance of quite a small British force, they slipped back to Toulon. The Emperor had his own plans, although they were always somewhat nebulous where sea affairs were concerned, and he was busy building up his fleet without any desire to risk existing material. His first great trouble was that he could not get it concentrated, try to evade the British blockading forces as he might.

Napoleon at Elba.

After the defeat of the Emperor and the taking of Paris, Louis XVIII crossed the Channel to take possession of his kingdom in the British yacht *Royal Sovereign*, escorted by the British frigate *Jason* and the French *Polonais*. A few days later, H.M.S. *Undaunted* embarked Napoleon at Fréjus and took him to Elba, a little island which had been granted to the ruler of Europe as a petty kingdom by the cynical confederation of the conquering powers. Such an action was calculated to cause trouble, and cause trouble it did. While the Emperor was on the island an Anglo-French patrol was maintained, the French ships being the *Fleur de Lys* and *Melpomène*, and the British the brig *Partridge*. The last-named was away from her station at the time when rumours began to gain publicity that Napoleon was going to attempt an escape. For weeks his agents in France had been getting the ground ready for his landing, and his final action was taken on the intimation that certain Royalist assassins were being sent out by Louis XVIII to put an end to the Napoleonic danger once and for all. He embarked in the little brig *Inconstant*, 300 tons, normally mounting 18 guns but fitted with 26 for the venture. She had been specially painted to look like a British ship, and was accompanied by the smaller *Etoile*, *Caroline*, *Manche*, *Abeille*, *St. Joseph*, and *Saint Esprit*, together with two transport barges. In all this little fleet carried 1,100 odd men. As soon as the die was cast, Napoleon manned the forts and prevented any spy leaving the island; one who did make the attempt very nearly lost his life. Napoleon made it very clear that he did not want to go to war with England again, and his great dread was meeting H.M.S. *Partridge;* the French Royalist ships he was quite willing to fight.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE ISLAND OF ELBA, 1814

(From an Aquatint in Colours by M. Dubourg after Terreni, Published June, 1814)

The view shows Elba as it appeared in 1813, *when Napoleon was holding his little court there and when it had been made the danger spot of Europe by the action of the victorious powers.*

H.M.S. " BELLEROPHON " IN TOR BAY, WITH NAPOLEON ON BOARD, 24 JULY, 1815
(From an Aquatint in Colours by Clarke & Dubourg after a Drawing by Capt. Tobin, R.N., Published 1 Novemeer, 1815)

While the Bellerophon *was lying at Tor Bay with her Imperial prisoner it was only natural that she should be the centre of a huge fleet of sightseeing craft. The public reception of the Emperor was quite courteous and he reciprocated the feeling by appearing at the gangway and acknowledging the salutes of the sightseers.*

(From a print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

(Mrs. Pearson's Collection)

THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA

(From an Aquatint in Colours by Clarke & Hamble after Bellaris, Published 1806)

In 1806, *the date of this print, St. Helena was the property of the East India Company and so continued until* 1834.

The Hundred Days.

Although the whole of France rose to Napoleon's standard, there was not time before the disaster of Waterloo to get the fleet under weigh, and for the precautions which the British took in appointing Lord Exmouth to be Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, and Lord Keith in the Channel, with the reinforcements of all the naval stations, to be utilised. After Waterloo Napoleon made an effort to slip across to the United States, but this was found to be hopeless and accordingly he surrendered to H.M.S. *Bellerophon*, under the command of Captain Frederick Maitland, in Basque Roads. He was taken to Plymouth, where shortly afterwards he was transferred to H.M.S. *Northumberland*, flying the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, and in that ship was taken to St. Helena, where he arrived on October 16th, 1815, a conqueror who might have put all his dreams into effect had he only understood the real principles of sea power, and had he possessed the personnel at sea to fight his battles against heavy odds in the same way that his lieutenants did on land.

The Peace of Paris.

With the allied armies in possession of Paris, it was possible to dictate any terms, but the feeling was that the war was against Napoleon and that the Bourbon dynasty should be given every opportunity of re-establishing itself; accordingly the greatest moderation was exhibited. France had to surrender Tobago, St. Lucia, Mauritius, Rodriguez and the Seychelles, but otherwise all the colonies that had been taken from her by the British and allies were returned, on consideration of an indemnity of seven hundred million francs. Both of the principal combatants had been bled white by the terrible war, but Great Britain was in a far better position to re-establish herself, owing to the manner in which she had managed to maintain and increase her commerce. The British Navy in 1815 was undoubtedly stronger than it had been in the whole of its history, and the first thing that the authorities did was to discharge the men into the streets, with no better recompense than an official permit to beg.

CHAPTER VI—THE INFANT NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES

The Renaissance of the United States Navy.

After the War of American Independence the Navy of the United States was allowed to disappear entirely, and although, in the famous Constitution, it was provided that the Secretary for War should be in charge of all forces afloat, there were none to command until the spring of 1794, when an Act was passed which provided for a Navy to protect the coasts. It was not a very big force—only six frigates in all—but it was an indication of what the country was prepared to do, and, considering the financial condition of the States at that moment, it was not by any means a contemptible effort.

The Trouble with Algiers.

The first trouble of the Navy was with the frankly pirate state of Algiers that had existed for centuries, very largely through the iniquitous system under which many European states paid tribute to it in the hope that it would levy a heavy toll on their rivals. The first case of trouble was in July, 1785, when the trading schooner *Maria* was seized by a corsair in the Western Mediterranean; and soon after the *Dauphin* of Philadelphia shared her fate. There was a good deal of indignation in the country at the fact that a score of American seamen were being held as slaves, but for one thing there was no money to start a Navy and for another the public was very strongly opposed to the idea of a standing army or fleet. The diehard Republicans referred to it as an effort to make the United States a new monarchy in America, and of course this was very much against the ideas of the patriots. For a time the anti-Navy party had their way, principally because the Portuguese were keeping the Algerines in check, but towards the end of 1793 the combatants signed a truce for twelve months, and immediately a pirate squadron put to sea and seized ten American merchant ships with over a hundred seamen. This was more than even the peace party could stand, with the result that the fleet was laid down immediately, three 44-gun frigates and three 36's. The 44's were the *Constitution*, *President* and the *United States*, the smaller ships were the *Chesapeake*, the *Congress* and the *Constellation*. As far as was possible these ships were laid down in such a way that the Navy would be on a State rather than a Federal basis.

The Armistice with Algiers, 1795.

No sooner was the construction of these ships well under way than a very short-sighted armistice with Algiers was signed in November, 1795. In order to get it, the United States Government paid the Dey of Algiers a million dollars in cash and presents, and agreed to an annual tribute of 12,000 sequins, which was rather more than 20,000 dollars. There was intense indignation at this climb-down, but it was already passed and its passage was regarded as a reason for cancelling the contract for three of the frigates and selling their timbers to merchant shipbuilders. The *Constitution* and the *United States*, of 44 guns, and the *Constellation* (36) were the three completed, and they formed a very useful training school for the U.S. Navy. In April, 1798, however, Congress appointed a Secretary of the Navy with Cabinet rank, and at the same time permitted twelve small merchantmen, suitable for conversion into men-of-war, to be purchased and added to the fleet. Immediately afterwards six line-of-battle ships were ordered, and the policy that George Washington had urged from the first was definitely adopted.

The Cause of the Trouble with France.

In spite of the fact that it was France that had virtually given the United States her independence as a nation, there was a very angry feeling arising in the country owing to the manner in which the French

Revolutionary Navy was treating American shipping. In the spring of 1794 matters appeared to have reached a crisis, and Congress was given a list of 38 American merchantmen that had been captured by French regular or irregular naval vessels. However, the trouble was smoothed over for the time, but in the early spring of 1798 it broke out again, and, with the ships that were being brought into the American service, the United States felt herself strong enough to issue orders that American cruisers were authorised to capture any French vessel in the Western Atlantic that appeared to have preyed, or to be likely to prey, upon American shipping. All treaties with France were abrogated and a regular state of war broke out. There was intense enthusiasm throughout the country, and hundreds of volunteers made every effort to get into the Navy. More frigates were ordered.

The First Actions of the War.

Thomas Truxtun and Stephen Decatur, in the frigate *Constellation* and the converted merchantman *Delaware* respectively, drew first blood in the war, for, cruising off the mouth of the Delaware, they discovered the 14-gun French privateer *Croyable*, which was known to have captured a number of American ships, and immediately captured her, adding her to the U.S. Navy as the *Retaliation*. Soon afterwards she was cruising in company with the 18-gun brig *Norfolk* and the 20-gun converted merchantman *Montezuma*, when they discovered three strange sail. Thinking that they were British ships, and therefore neutral, Bainbridge in the *Retaliation* approached incautiously under their guns, when he suddenly discovered that they were three powerful French frigates and was soon hammered into submission. His two consorts in the meantime had made all sail to escape, but they were being overhauled when Bainbridge, with rare presence of mind, gave his captors to understand that they were of about twice the force that they appeared to be. Ships of such power would have been rather more than the Frenchmen wished to tackle, with the result that the commodore called his ships off and the Americans contrived to escape. Although they had been treated with the greatest courtesy on board, when they were landed at Basse Terre the Republican authorities treated the prisoners with the greatest severity, and thus caused great indignation in the United States.

The West Indian Campaign, 1799.

The principal damage done to the shipping of the United States had been by the French privateers in the West Indies, so that in 1799 Captain John Barry was sent down with quite a powerful squadron. He did splendid work, for by that time his men were in fine fettle, and not only were the ships good but they were manned entirely by prime seamen who knew their work and were as keen as mustard. The result of this campaign was a large number of privateers destroyed or captured, the prisoners being as mixed a bag as could well be imagined. By that time the condition of the American prisoners at Basse Terre had become

a scandal, and, not having any use for the prisoners he had captured, Barry attempted to arrange an exchange. In spite of the fact that he went in flying a white flag, the fort opened a heavy fire on him, whereupon he sailed round the harbour and gave them a return that they were not expecting, a gallant action which increased his reputation all over the country.

The "Constellation" and the "Insurgent."

One of the most famous and active of the American frigates was the *Constellation*, 36, commanded by Captain Truxtun. In February, 1799, she was near St. Kitts when she fell in with the French frigate *Insurgent*, which had been the commodore's ship when Bainbridge was captured. Although nominally of at least as great a power as the *Constellation*, the Frenchman attempted to make off, with Truxtun hard in pursuit. The American gunnery was excellent, and although the *Insurgent* put up a very gallant defence she was soon reduced to such a condition that she struck, after an action lasting about an hour and a quarter. A small prize crew was put on board the captured ship, but not until she had parted company with the *Constellation* was it discovered that there were no gratings to the hatchways, and therefore no proper means of securing the prisoners. Lieutenant Rodgers, a giant who feared nothing and nobody, rose to the occasion and he and his twelve men forced the prisoners into the lower hold; then, casting loose one of the guns and keeping it trained on the hatch with grape and canister, they contrived to bring their prize into St. Kitts three days afterwards. Lieutenant Rodgers was very deservedly rewarded with post rank.

Bainbridge in the "Norfolk."

As soon as he was released by the French, Lieutenant William Bainbridge, who had contrived to effect the escape of the *Norfolk* and *Montezuma*, was given the command of the former brig and put on convoy duty. While in charge of 119 merchantmen, he was overtaken by a powerful French frigate, but, by skilfully handling his own ship and his convoy, he contrived to save every one of them and to rejoin them when he had shown the Frenchman a clean pair of heels. Later he had a successful cruise in the West Indies, making his name a terror not only to French privateers but also to the pirates that were swarming in the neighbourhood in those days, often actively assisted by the Spanish officials. He did so well on this cruise that he was promoted to the rank of post captain.

The "Constellation" and the "Vengeance."

In February, 1800, Truxtun in the *Constellation* had another fight with a French frigate of superior force, this time the 40-gun *Vengeance* under the command of Captain Pigot. Although she was classed as a 40-gun ship, she had 52 guns in all, and was a considerably more powerful ship than Truxtun's. However, the *Constellation* tackled her so fiercely that he finally silenced her fire altogether, only to discover that

(*Macpherson Collection*)

VIEW OF NEW YORK FROM HOBUCK FERRY HOUSE, NEW JERSEY
(From an Aquatint in Colours Engraved by F. Jukes after
A. Robertson, Published 1800)

his own rigging and masts were so cut up that the ship was absolutely unmanageable. Finally the mainmast went overboard and it took an hour to clear away the wreckage, by which time the *Vengeance* had made sail and escaped, only to be captured some six months afterwards by H.M.S. *Seine*. Considering that the *Vengeance* had over 1,100 lbs. weight of fire against the 826 of the *Constellation,* and that the battle lasted for five hours, this was a very creditable action for Truxtun, especially as he inflicted some 160 casualties on the enemy against his own 39.

The End of the War with France.

Although it gave great credit to the new American Navy and afforded them an opportunity of training such as they could not possibly have obtained otherwise, the war was a most unsatisfactory one from every viewpoint, and could not lead to any definite result. In 1800, therefore, negotiations for peace were commenced, and the treaty was ratified in February, 1801. It must be remembered that the French Navy already had their hands very full with the British fleet, but the odds were quite sufficient to make it a most creditable war for the Americans in every particular.

The Algerian Trouble Again.

Meanwhile, the truce that had been patched up with Algiers was still very unpopular, the battle-cry of the patriots being " Millions for defence; not a penny for tribute." This spirit, however, did not prevent the administration of the United States from continuing to pay tribute, and finally to offer the Dey of Algiers the frigate *Crescent* as compensation for a slight delay in the payment. It was not a judicious gift, for, as soon as the vessel arrived in the Mediterranean, the Basha of Tripoli saw no reason why he should not receive a frigate too, and immediately sent in a demand for one. Following hard on the heels of the demand came a declaration of war, on the ground that the President had unduly delayed answering, and Tunis soon threw in her lot with him. They could, however, do very little beyond carry on the piracy that they had never really stopped.

The Humiliation of Bainbridge.

It was very hard that the officer who was most humiliated in the trouble with Algiers should be Captain William Bainbridge, who had made such a magnificent reputation for himself. In 1800 he was sent to the Mediterranean in the *George Washington* to convey the annual tribute to the Dey of Algiers. This duty went sadly against the grain; but worse was to come, for, when he arrived at Algiers, he was ordered by the Dey to put the *George Washington* at his disposal for the purpose of carrying a valuable present and an embassy of 200 members to the Sultan at Constantinople, a ruler who at that time was exceedingly displeased with the Dey of Algiers and who had to be placated. Naturally enough, Bainbridge refused, but the Dey's argument was that " if you pay me tribute you become my slave, and therefore I have the

right to order you as I may think proper." The American Consul in Algiers added his arguments to those of the ruler, and eventually Bainbridge was forced to put his ship to this use. The only gratifying point about the business was that, on arrival at Constantinople, Bainbridge was treated with the greatest courtesy, and the Algerian envoys very harshly. When the *George Washington* returned to Algiers she was very coolly received, and it was only Bainbridge's foresight which prevented her being seized. The incident ended by his sailing away, and, in spite of the fact that the United States and France were at war, he took on board all the French refugees that he could, as the Dey had issued a firman to enslave every French man, woman or child found in Algiers after forty-eight hours.

The War in the Mediterranean.

Naturally enough, the insult that had been offered to Bainbridge in the *George Washington* caused the greatest excitement up and down the country, and he was soon given the command of the 32-gun frigate *Essex*, which joined the *President*, the *Philadelphia* and the *Enterprise* in the Mediterranean. Tripoli was the first enemy to be dealt with, but Commodore Richard Dale had orders to keep peace with Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli if it were possible. To begin with, the principal work of the squadron was convoying merchant ships safely through the danger area of the corsair states. The powerful American force had a wonderfully deterrent effect on the various states, but the Bashaw of Tripoli had already gone too far and had declared war, the first action being between the 12-gun American schooner *Enterprise* and the 14-gun Tripolitan polacre *Tripoli*. This occurred on August 1st, 1801, and the two ships were soon fighting hammer-and-tongs at the closest range. The action continued for three hours, during which time the enemy hauled down her flag three times, but each time opened fire again when the Americans went to take possession. Finally they were so cut about and damaged that they had no alternative but unconditional surrender, with 50 of their 80 men down. The American did not have a single casualty. This action greatly increased the prestige of the Americans in the Mediterranean, and the maintenance of the patrol during the winter of 1801-2 kept the sea free to American traffic.

The 1802 Campaign.

The Mediterranean fleet was reinforced greatly in the spring of 1802, when the 36-gun frigate *Chesapeake* became the flagship, and had quite a fleet of frigates, sloops and corvettes with her. Powerful as the fleet was, however, it was scarcely suitable for the work that it had on hand owing to the light calibre of the long guns, but when the U.S.S. *Constellation* discovered 17 gunboats off the coast of Tripoli they were soon dispersed. After that little brush the war, such as it was, dragged itself on wearily, the American fleet preventing the pirate states from accomplishing anything, but their land defences being far too strong to tackle.

An Encounter in the Dark.

A campaign of this sort going on in the Mediterranean during one of the greatest wars in history naturally led to a good many awkward situations, but the good feeling between the British and the Americans increased considerably as they came to appreciate one another. Captain Edward Preble took over the command of the American fleet in 1803, his flag flying in the 44-gun frigate *Constitution*. One dark night he encountered a ship in the Straits of Gibraltar, and, hailing, failed to get any information. Finally he threatened that, if the other ship did not answer, he would fire a shot into her, to which the stranger replied : " If you do I'll return a broadside." Then followed the information that the ship was His Britannic Majesty's 84-gun ship *Donegal*, Sir Richard Strachan, and a demand to send a boat on board. The answer was characteristic of Preble. " This is the United States 44-gun ship *Constitution*, Captain Edward Preble, and I'll be damned if I send a boat on board any ship. Blow your matches, boys." Assured that this was the truth, the stranger sent a boat and an officer explained that she was H.M. 32-gun frigate *Maidstone*, but that the encounter with the American had been so unexpected that, feeling sure she was a Frenchman, they had given the name of a big ship in order to give time to get the crew to quarters. There was a good laugh over the whole incident and they parted good friends. Another unexpected encounter on the same cruise was when Captain Bainbridge, in the *Essex*, ran up against a Moorish sloop, the *Meshboha*, whose captain, mistaking the *Essex* for a British cruiser, was quite open about the fact that she had an American brig as prize. His chagrin when he discovered the nationality of the officer to whom he had made the confidence may be imagined.

The Loss of the " Philadelphia."

At the end of October, 1803, the American forces suffered a very severe loss in the shape of the frigate *Philadelphia*, 36 guns. In pursuing a corsair off Tripoli, she was lured on to an uncharted reef named the Kalinsa, her quarry slipping away in the deep water inshore. She had been kept off the reef for a long time by careful navigation, but as she lost headway in tacking she stranded firmly. There was a powerful Tripolitan fleet in the harbour and also several shore batteries, while the ship was so hard and fast ashore that it was regarded as impossible to get her off. Finally the breeze and swell heeled her over so that her guns were useless for keeping off the swarm of small craft that came out to harass her. There was no alternative but to surrender, but in the meantime Captain Bainbridge, who then had command of her, took every reasonable precaution to see that she would be useless to her captors. Among the officers who were taken prisoner were David Porter, Jacob Jones, Daniel Patterson, James Biddle, and James Renshaw, all men who afterwards distinguished themselves in the U.S. Navy, and who have been honoured by the names of torpedo-boat destroyers within the last thirty years. As luck would have it, within

two days a gale permitted the Tripolitans to salve the *Philadelphia* and take her into the harbour in triumph.

The End of the "Philadelphia" Affair.

The chagrin of the Americans at losing a fine frigate in this manner may be imagined, especially as, after showing them great kindness, the Bashaw suddenly turned round and treated the prisoners with appalling savagery. From prison Bainbridge managed to communicate with Preble, and, writing in invisible ink, he suggested a cutting-out expedition to recover the frigate, or, failing that, to destroy her. A small Tripolitan ketch named the *Mastico* was used for this purpose, and, in spite of her small size—she was only of about 30 tons burthen—she was manned with 70 odd volunteers and made for the port. A gale lasting a week gave her crew a terrible experience, for there was absolutely no accommodation on board the ketch and she had only been victualled for a short time. However, the weather at last moderated and they made for harbour, being taken by the guard for a Maltese. The *Philadelphia* was lying right in the middle of the harbour, covered by a hundred guns, and had a powerful crew on board, so that every minor accident—and there were many of them—appeared to imperil the success of the expedition. They finally contrived to come alongside the frigate and, headed by Lieutenant Decatur, the crew poured over the gunwale and through the gun ports. They had taken with them combustible materials, and the force of their attack speedily gave them command of the deck, when they immediately set light to the ship in a dozen places. When the ship was well alight they put to sea again, the little *Mastico* catching fire before she could be got clear. At length she got under weigh and, aided by the fleet, the gallant party of Americans got her out of the harbour before the batteries could recover from their surprise and open a heavy fire. Before they left, the *Philadelphia* was too thoroughly on fire to be salved, and she was finally totally destroyed by a terrific explosion. It was one of the most gallant cutting-out expeditions in history, and the total loss on the American side was only one man wounded. Unfortunately, their triumph caused the Bashaw to devise still further cruelties for his prisoners.

The Bombardment of Tripoli, 1804.

After the *Philadelphia* had been destroyed, the next business of the Americans was to blockade and bombard the town, the former task being by far the easier. The existing force was by no means suitable for the work, but it was gradually made more useful, and finally the King of Sicily lent two bomb ketches and six gunboats, which were exceedingly useful. The comparative forces were still overwhelmingly in favour of the natives, however, by nearly two to one in the matter of guns and over twenty to one in the matter of men, while in addition they had the usual advantage of forts over ships. However, all preparations were finally completed by the end of August, 1804. The attack commenced on August 3rd, when the American gunboats advanced with the greatest

(Lenox Collection)

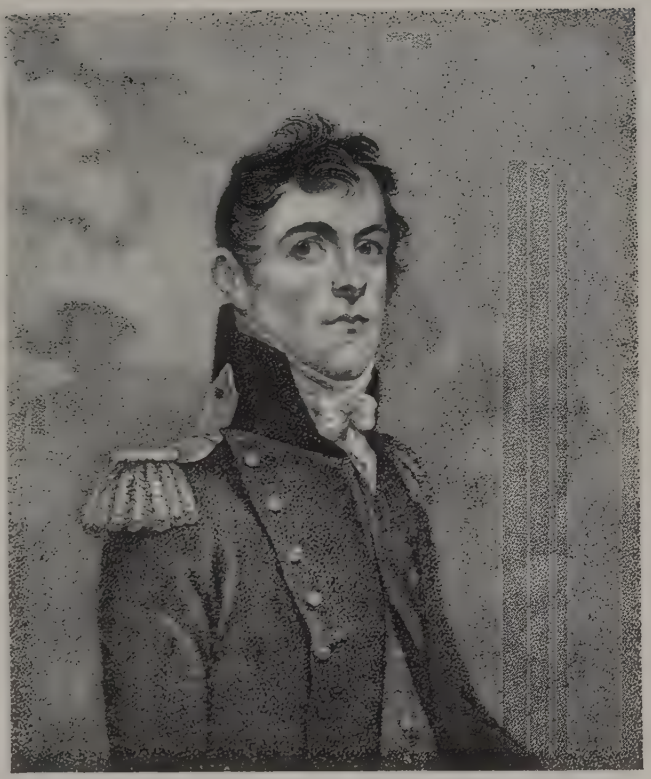
THE STRANDING AND CAPTURE OF THE "PHILADELPHIA," 31 OCTOBER, 1803
(From an Etching by Jos. F. Sabin after a Drawing by Capt. Hoff)

The stranding of the Philadelphia was a great blow to American pride and prestige, but her subsequent destruction was one of the most exploits in naval history

Macpherson Collection

THE U.S. FIRESHIP "INTREPID" BLOWING UP IN TRIPOLI HARBOUR, 4 SEPTEMBER, 1804
(From a Contemporary Engraving)

A particularly gallant exploit which cost the lives of her entire crew.



JAMES BIDDLE

DAVID PORTER

(From Engravings Published by Moses Thomas, Philadelphia, *c.* 1813)

Two of the finest types of American naval officer, both Biddle and Porter had much to do with the development of the infant Navy of the United States and its remarkable success.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

ADMIRAL GEORGE CRANFIELD BERKELEY (1753-1818)
(From a Proof Mezzotint after Gainsborough, Published 1793)

Cranfield Berkeley was largely responsible for the outbreak of the American war of 1812.

gallantry, and in a fierce hand-to-hand fight contrived to carry the gunboats. At the end of the day the attackers had attained considerable success, but the Tripolitans were still unsubdued, and the next attempt was not until the 7th. On this occasion the Americans suffered heavily, and at nightfall they were forced to withdraw, when they received information that heavy reinforcements were coming up to them, which determined Preble to hold up his next attack. After a fortnight, however, he tired of waiting for these reinforcements and poured in a steady fire. Attack followed attack, and bombardment bombardment, until finally it was determined to hasten things by fitting the *Mastico* as a huge floating mine. This little ketch, which had been re-named the U.S.S. *Intrepid,* was filled with a hundred barrels of powder, a hundred 9-inch and fifty 13-inch shells, together with a quantity of shot and everything that could do damage. Master-Commandant Richard Somers was given the command, and on the night of September 1st, in a thick mist, she made the gallant attempt. Anxious watchers in the fleet saw the flash of a colossal explosion, but it was not until some time afterwards that it was discovered that the unfortunate ketch had stranded on a reef at the edge of the harbour and, being attacked by a number of enemy gunboats, had been blown up with all hands.

The End of the War.

The war dragged on until May, 1805, when the Americans had not only secured a powerful fleet but also a considerable force on shore. Aided by Tripolitan rebels, they gradually hemmed in the Bashaw's forces until finally he was forced to sign a peace by which the United States were relieved of the necessity of paying tribute in the future.

Further Trouble with Algiers.

The Americans were not yet finished with their troubles with the Algerians, and at the beginning of 1815 matters became so impossible that the President recommended that war should be declared. Captain William Bainbridge was given the command of one of the squadrons sent and Stephen Decatur of the other. Most of the ships that had made names for themselves in the war of 1812-14 were included in the fleet. The *Guerrière* was Decatur's flagship and it was his squadron that got away first and made its way to the Mediterranean. This squadron was outnumbered by the Algerine fleet under Reis Hammina, one of the most daring and ruthless of the latter day Algerine corsairs. As luck would have it they came upon his flagship, the *Mashouda,* out of reach of his support and although she very nearly escaped by her superior speed she was finally taken after she had been literally hammered to pieces. Reis Hammina died gallantly, having been wounded seriously but refusing to leave the deck until he was killed by a roundshot, while much of the credit in the engagement must go to Master Commandant Downes of the little 18-gun brig *Epervier* who contrived to work under the stern of his formidable adversary and gave her nine broadsides which

completed her defeat, although he knew perfectly well that it only required a few guns to bear for him to be blown out of the water.

Negotiations with the Dey.

Having captured the *Mashouda* and sunk the 22-gun brig *Estido* Decatur made for Algiers and dictated his terms. After the usual Eastern evasion and haggling a treaty was finally arranged, but at the last minute the Dey refused to ratify it and Decatur returned for drastic action. When he saw that the Americans really meant business the Algerine climbed down, granted everything demanded and left Decatur to deal with the other pirate States, who offered no serious resistance.

CHAPTER VII—THE WAR OF 1812

The Right of Search.

One of the most useless and utterly unnecessary wars ever fought was brought about principally by the right of search which the British Government claimed in all circumstances, and it might easily have been avoided had the British authorities been a little more tactful in their dealings and the Americans a little less trustful of Napoleon. The politicians of the United States convinced the public that thousands of Americans had been forced to serve in the British Navy against their will, that many American ships on the high seas were robbed of their crews and were forced to put into port for new men, or even to abandon their voyages altogether. They also very much resented the blockade which the British had instituted against Napoleon, and the necessity of searching neutral ships in its enforcement. The fact that many French privateers had been fitted out in the United States and had actually sailed against British commerce under the Stars and Stripes, was but little known at the time, or fair-minded men would certainly never have objected to such rovers being sought out and discovered. As far as the thousands of pressed Americans were concerned, it may be mentioned that only 3,500 men in the whole British fleet *claimed* to be American citizens, and from this must be deducted the number, fully three out of four, whose claims were fraudulent. Similarly, when the American Government granted certificates to American seamen, proving their American nationality, they did not guard against the possibility of forgery and fraudulent granting; as an example of this may be mentioned the case of an American ship at Portsmouth which was searched for British seamen. Everyone produced a certificate but one, who was immediately impressed into the British Navy. The American captain remarked: "There, they have taken a man who was never out of Pennsylvania in his life and who, thinking no one would doubt it, did not provide himself with a certificate, and have left three fellows who have only been six months out of a British man-of-war but who have been wiser in securing citizenship." In such circumstances it is not surprising that the British Navy, short of men as it was, was suspicious,

but there is no doubt both that it sometimes abused the right of search and that it carried out its duties in such a tactless manner that Americans were bound to be offended, whether they had right on their side or not. At the same time, Napoleon played on the inconvenience to which American merchants had been put by the blockade, and did his utmost to urge them into the war, only to withdraw all his promises immediately afterwards.

The "Chesapeake" and the "Leopard."

The match that finally lit the powder of American exasperation was the incident of H.M.S. *Leopard* and the U.S. frigate *Chesapeake*. The *Leopard* was a 50-gun ship and the *Chesapeake* a 40, but, as was usual in those days, the American metal was superior in many respects. The *Chesapeake* had on board her at least one of the many British deserters that were being harboured by the United States, but Barron, in command, ignored this fact, relying on his national status. Captain Humphreys, of the *Leopard*, however, suddenly announced that he was going to search the American for deserters, which of course was a proceeding that Barron could not submit to in any circumstances whatsoever. He therefore began to make belated preparations to defend himself, but before they were ready the *Leopard* opened fire; and in three broadsides caused twenty-one casualties before the American struck. Lieutenant W. H. Allen, of the United States Navy, was the only man who contrived to fire a gun in return, he carrying a red-hot coal from the galley in his bare hand in order to touch it off. Four deserters from British ships were found on board, but three of them were American subjects. Barron was acquitted by the court-martial, although there were many in America who believed him blameworthy. Of course there could only be one result of such an action, and that was war, but that was not to be declared at once. The incident occurred in 1807 and the country was simmering with indignation until 1811, when another encounter took place.

The "President" and the "Little Belt."

In 1811 the U.S. frigate *President*, carrying 32 24-pounder guns and 24 32-pounder carronades, under the command of Captain John Rodgers, fought an action with the British sloop *Little Belt*, carrying 18 32-pounder carronades and two long nines. The fight took place at night, and may possibly have been due to a misunderstanding or to American indignation over the *Leopard* affair; but of course there could only be one outcome to such an encounter, and in a quarter of an hour the *Little Belt* was beaten into silence, with 32 casualties, while there was not a man hurt on board the *President*. Even then, war was not declared until June, 1812.

The First Action.

The only force that the U.S. Navy could get to sea to begin with was a little squadron consisting of the *President*, *United States*, *Congress*, *Hornet* and *Argus*, the first three frigates and the others sloops.

They put to sea soon after the declaration of war, hoping to catch the West Indian convoy. The first ship they encountered was H.M.S. *Belvidera*, a 36, whose commander, Captain Byron, had already been warned that war was likely but had not learned of its outbreak. Seeing a fleet at sea, he wisely decided to stand off, but the *President*, which was always a remarkably fine sailer off the wind, soon began to overhaul him. Captain Byron contrived to get two long 18-pounders and two 32-pounder carronades to bear right aft, but he was of course hopelessly outmatched. At the very beginning of the action one of the *President's* guns burst, causing 16 casualties, and Byron took full advantage of the opportunity. The British captain handled his ship magnificently and finally contrived to draw ahead and make Halifax, thus adding to his already considerable reputation. Commodore Rodgers's cruise resulted in small advantage, except the capture of a few merchantmen, while the British made every haste to fit out a squadron at Halifax.

Captain David Porter.

One of the most promising officers in the U.S. Navy was Captain David Porter, who, on the outbreak of war, was given command of the 32-gun frigate *Essex*. She was armed practically entirely with carronades, which did not at all suit Porter's idea of what a frigate should carry, but he had to make the best of it, and in his first successful cruise he captured a transport which was sailing in convoy, forced the 16-gun sloop *Alert*—a converted collier which could not be described as a formidable vessel—to surrender, and then contrived to take quite a number of small merchantmen.

The "Constitution."

Meanwhile, about a month after war had been declared, the 44-gun frigate *Constitution* was sent to sea under Captain Isaac Hull. She had a scratch crew, but they were all seamen and were all as keen as mustard, so that she sailed from the Chesapeake with great enthusiasm. Unfortunately she soon encountered a powerful British squadron under Commodore Broke, and had to run for it. H.M.S. *Shannon* was the nearest ship and borrowed practically all the available boats of the fleet to tow towards the American, but Hull did better by kedging his ship forward with two anchors. So the ships proceeded through the calm for no less than three days, until finally a squall gave Hull his opportunity, and he soon increased his distance so much that the British ships gave up the chase and let her go into Boston. This was an action which was to cost them dear before the war was over, for the *Constitution* was one of the most phenomenally successful ships in the U.S. fleet, and is still affectionately preserved.

The "Constitution" and the "Guerrière."

Having contrived to get into Boston in safety, Hull's first anxiety was to get out of it before the Navy Department tied him there through their ever-present fear of risking their cruisers. At the first oppor-

(Macpherson Collection)

H.M. POST OFFICE PACKET " WINDSOR CASTLE " BEATING OFF A FRENCH SCHOONER PRIVATEER OFF BARBADOS, 1 OCTOBER, 1807

(From an Aquatint in Colours by J. B. Harraden after T. Whitcombe, Published January, 1808)

This was one of the most famous actions of the sort, and it reflected the greatest credit on the packet's people.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE "HINCHINBROOK" POST OFFICE PACKET, 8 GUNS, ATTACKED BY THE AMERICAN PRIVATEER "GRAND TURK," OF SALEM, 18 GUNS, 1 MAY, 1814
(From an Aquatint in Colours after Pocock, Published 1819)

By magnificent seamanship the packet's captain contrived to get into such a position that his superior enemy was glad enough to retire.

(Macpher[illegible])

THE "WESTMORELAND" PACKET (CAPT. WOLFE) BEATING OFF A FRENCH PRIVATEER NEAR ST. EUSTATIA, 1797

(From an Engraving by Elmes, August, 1797)

On account of their light armament the Post Office packets were not always successful in beating off even the small privateers.

Lachlan Codrington

THE SNOW "JENNY," OF LONDON, ATTACKED BY A FRENCH PRIVATEER, 29 NOVEMBER, 1804

(From an Aquatinted Etching by W. J. White after a Painting by W. Anderson, Published May, 1805)

Both in speed and armament the snows and brigs which carried so much of Britain's commerce at this time were but a poor match for the average well-equipped French privateer.

tunity, therefore, he slipped out, and before long he came across a British frigate which proved to be the 38-gun *Guerrière*, which had been one of the squadron that had given him such a bad time only a few days previously. Both sides were quite ready for the action, although the American was considerably the bigger ship, but before they had been at it long the *Guerrière's* mizzen was shot away and she was rendered unmanageable, so that the *Constitution* had the great advantage, and raked her time and again. Boarding proved to be difficult for both parties, but a heavy musketry fire caused heavy losses. After a quarter of an hour of this fighting the fore and mainmasts of the British ship followed the mizzenmast overboard, with the result that she was nothing more than a hulk in the water, exposing her defenceless sides in the heavy swell and receiving the fire of her enemy, until finally she was compelled to strike. It was a gallant action, gallantly maintained on both sides, and both sides were willing to grant the most generous measure of praise to their opponents. Captain Dacres of the *Guerrière* won the esteem of the American people by permitting ten American subjects whom he had amongst his crew to go below immediately the action started, and making no effort to force them into fighting their own countrymen. This was in spite of the fact that his crew was not much more than half that of his enemy. On the other hand, he paid the most generous tribute to the courteous treatment that he had received from Captain Hull and his officers after the surrender. The result of the action was naturally a great encouragement to the Americans and a bitter pill for the British, but there is no getting away from the fact that it was only the logical outcome of an action between such unequal forces, when the Americans had paid all the attention that they possibly could to their gunnery, and the British ship, with a pressed crew, had neglected it, like so many other ships of the time.

The "Frolic" and the "Wasp."

It is not so easy to explain away the next action in which the Americans triumphed, although it was only an affair between two small ships, and really does not deserve the prominence it has been given in the history books. The U.S.S. *Wasp*, under the command of Captain Jacob Jones, was armed with sixteen 32-pounder carronades and two 12-pounder long guns, while H.M.S. *Frolic*, brig-rigged, had the same number of heavy guns but had reinforced them with two long 6-pounders and two 12-pounder carronades. In the matter of crews, which was a very important item in those days, the American had a slight superiority, but it was not a very great one, certainly not as great as in the case of the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*. The *Wasp* attempted to cut off some merchantmen that the *Frolic* was convoying, and the British brig was quite ready to engage. In this case the handling of the British guns was excellent, but they followed the French fashion of firing high, with the result that, although they seemed to be overwhelming the enemy's fire, she was really scoring far more hull hits than

the *Frolic*. As had been the experience in the French wars, the casualties went by the shots that found the hull. By the time the American contrived to board, there were not twenty unwounded British seamen left, and the captain was so badly wounded that it fell to an American officer to lower the flag. No sooner had they taken possession and set about repairing damages than H.M. 74-gun ship *Poictiers*, commanded by a member of the famous Beresford family, arrived on the scene and took both victor and victim.

Rodgers's Cruise.

In October, 1812, Commodore Rodgers once again contrived to get to sea with a squadron of four ships. Two of them, the *President* and the *Congress*, did very little, but secured a few small prizes. The *Argus* was magnificently handled and owed her success to the skill of her people, while the 44-gun frigate *United States*, under the command of the famous Captain Stephen Decatur, which was a slightly improved *Constitution*, had a remarkable cruise. His first encounter was with H.M.S. *Macedonian*, of 38 guns, which was very similar to the *Guerrière* in design, just as the *United States* was very similar to the *Constitution*. As in the case of the *Guerrière*, there were a number of Americans in her crew, practically all pressed men, but Captain Carden insisted on their serving against their countrymen, and it is probably this that accounts for the difference in feeling concerning the two actions. The *Macedonian* made a mistake in the beginning, and when she tried to repair it she found that it was not so easy, the American doing her very considerable damage before she came within comfortable range for her heavy carronades. In the end the *Macedonian* was forced to strike, just as the *Guerrière* had been, her casualties being 104 against the dozen of the American. After the action Captain Decatur decided that he would return to port with his prize, and not continue the cruise that had been planned out for him. This decision was certainly wise as it would have been quite impossible to refit the ship at sea.

The "Java" and the "Constitution."

The *Constitution's* second great action, this time under the command of Captain William Bainbridge, was against H.M.S. *Java*. This ship was of similar type to the *Guerrière*, but carronades had been substituted for long guns. She had a good many more men in her crew than her luckless predecessor, but was still inferior to the *Constitution* in this respect. Both ships were well handled, and the British had the advantage of speed. This advantage was not considered very much, as she was as keen on fighting as the Yankee. The American gunnery had been good in Hull's time, but it had been improved greatly since then, and she inflicted terrible damage on the British ship. On the other hand, she did not escape scathless, and had 34 of her men down when the dismasted *Java* at last struck, with 124 casualties. Bainbridge considered that there was too much risk in attempting to get his prize all the way home, and accordingly destroyed her at sea.

The "Hornet" and the "Peacock."

Meanwhile, the American sloop *Hornet*, under Captain James Lawrence, which had sailed with the *Constitution*, was carrying out an independent cruise, and in February, 1813, discovered H.M. 16-gun brig *Espiègle* anchored inside the bar of the Demerara River. Getting her out was no easy matter, but in the meantime the brig *Peacock* came up, and Lawrence determined to fight her before her consort could join. The little brig had very little chance, for she only carried 24-pounder carronades and two 6-pounder long guns, with the result that she was at a big disadvantage compared with her heavier antagonist. Once again the American gunnery showed itself far superior, and in the swell the first American broadside caused several leaks as the *Peacock* lifted her side out of the water. In a quarter of an hour it was all over, and the *Peacock* struck in a sinking condition. There were heavy casualties on the British side, but only three Americans were hit, all aloft. The surprising thing is that the *Espiègle*, although quite close to the scene of action, knew nothing about it until some hours afterwards. Her commander was afterwards court-martialled for this and various other charges and was dismissed the service, although it was held that he was not to blame for not assisting the *Peacock*.

Two Small Craft Duels.

The war of 1812 was principally noteworthy for its fiercely contested duels between small craft, and in 1813 there were two worthy of notice. In the first one the American brig *Argus*, 16 guns, crossed the Atlantic and harried British commerce in the Chops of the Channel. One day a wine-laden brig was taken and a large proportion of the crew got out of hand on her cargo, so that when, the following morning, H.M.S. *Pelican*, a more powerfully armed vessel, came on the scene, she was not in any fit state to defend herself, and although her captain and his officers behaved with the greatest gallantry, she was eventually hammered into submission. The other case was the U.S. brig *Enterprise*, one of the last survivors of the old navy, which fell in with H.M. brig *Boxer*, considerably inferior to her in weight of metal and crew. The *Boxer* was under the command of Captain Blyth, who had been publicly thanked by the people of Maine for his kindness and humanity. The two brigs fought fiercely for half an hour, at the end of which time both Captain Blyth and Lieutenant Burrows, who was in command of the *Enterprise*, were killed, and the *Boxer* was so cut about and unmanageable that she was forced to strike. The Americans appreciated the gallantry of this action thoroughly, and soon after a toast was "The crew of the *Boxer*, enemies by law but by gallantry brothers."

The Great Blockade.

Britain had declared a blockade on the American coast almost as soon as the war began, but at that time the great majority of its cruisers and heavier ships were kept busy by Napoleon, and it was but imper-

fectly enforced. By the beginning of 1813, however, the position of affairs in Europe had so changed that nearly the whole of the British fleet was available for blockading duty, and although there were no soldiers to spare for the American war, the fleet in the Western Atlantic was greatly increased. By the early summer the whole coast, from New York downwards, was blockaded, the New England states being left uncovered because there was a strong anti-war feeling there and the British hoped that this would develop into active measures. Towards the end of the year, however, it was extended, and in 1814 the whole coast was covered and American commerce was at a standstill, except for such small quantities of goods as could pass over the Spanish border to Florida.

The Privateer Campaign.

Although the United States Navy was not in a position to challenge the British in any force, privateers slipped out of the American ports in scores, and the Americans brought this form of warfare to a higher pitch than had ever been attempted before. American ship designers have always been known for the speed of their vessels, and in the privateers they carried this quality to its highest development. The blockaded navy provided plenty of men and the ships were designed accordingly. They carried a big area of canvas on a very light hull, were generally armed with a single long gun for long-range firing and a number of carronades for close quarters. The damage that these privateers did to British shipping was incalculable, but the effect that they had on the war was another matter. It is doubtful whether many of their owners made very big profits in the long run, for although they captured a number of prizes they generally came to grief themselves before the end, and they were expensive to maintain. Had the United States Treasury been in a position to devote all this money and energy to the construction of regular men-of-war, manned by disciplined crews and sailing according to a definite plan, it is possible that the damage done to Britain might have been multiplied many times, but it must be remembered that this was far more easily said than done in the case of a young country with an empty treasury, and the commissioning of a large number of ships at the expense of their owners was the next best thing.

The Cruise of the "Essex."

One of the most noteworthy corsair cruises in the history of naval warfare was that carried out by the U.S. frigate *Essex* under Captain David Porter. He sailed in October, 1812, especially prepared for a long cruise, and having been very tolerably successful in the South Atlantic, he doubled Cape Horn into the Pacific, a very grave risk to take. Britain and America then had big whaling fleets in the Pacific, and he was determined both to protect his own and attack the British, which he did with such success that he practically ruined the industry there. H.M. ships *Phoebe* (36) and *Cherub* (18) had been sent out specially to

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE U.S. FRIGATE "UNITED STATES," 44, COMMODORE DECATUR, CAPTURING H.M. FRIGATE "MACEDONIAN," 38, CAPTAIN J. S. CARDEN, 25 OCTOBER, 1812
(From an Oil Painting by T. Whitcompe—Contemporary)

"FREE TRADE & SAILORS RIGHTS"
Commodore Decatur
Destroyed the Frigate Philadelphia 1804 —— Captured & brought in the British Frigate Macedonian 1812.
Philadelphia Published by John Kucuss Copperplate Printer.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

COMMODORE STEPHEN DECATUR (1779-1820)
(From an Engraving by and after Strickland)

One of the most striking figures in the early days of the U.S. Navy. The destruction of the Philadelphia *at Tripoli and the capture of H.M.S.* Macedonian *were two of his finest feats. He was unfortunately killed in a duel with another U.S. naval officer in* 1820.

(Macpherson Collection)
CAPTURE OF THE BRITISH FRIGATE "JAVA" BY THE U.S. FRIGATE "CONSTITUTION" OFF THE COAST OF BRAZIL, 29 DECEMBER, 1812
(From an Aquatint in Colours after Garneray)

By a very much heavier metal and the superior training of his crew in gunnery, Captain Bainbridge fought the Java *to a standstill and forced her to strike.*

H.M.S. " ANDROMACHE " CHASING AN AMERICAN SCHOONER
(From a Water-Colour by G. Tobin, 1813)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

EAST VIEW OF BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
(From an Aquatint in Colours by T. Cartwright after G. Beck, Published 1802)

Even in the early days of the nineteenth century Baltimore was of great importance both strategically and commercially.

capture him, and contrived to corner him in Valparaiso. To avoid outraging the neutrality of the port, a strict blockade was maintained. In trying to escape in a gale, Porter lost his maintopmast and anchored about half a mile from the Chilian coast. An attempt was made by the two British ships to force him out of this position and an action commenced. The *Cherub* was soon driven off, but the *Essex* had a very bad time from the *Phoebe's* long 18-pounders, which had a longer range than anything in the American ship. In spite of this, Porter put up a magnificent defence, doing what he could with six long 12-pounders, which were the only guns that would throw a shot the distance. The slaughter on board the American ship was appalling. Finally Porter attempted to run her ashore, but this was defeated by a change in the wind, and with only 76 men unwounded out of over 250, the *Essex* surrendered. Some writers have been apt to sneer at Captain Hillyar for keeping out of range, but surely he would have been criminally foolish to have thrown away the advantage given to him by his armament and deliberately to have come into the reach of Porter's powerful 32-pounder carronades. It may be mentioned that David Farragut, who was later to be one of the most noteworthy admirals in the U.S. Navy, was serving on board the *Essex* as a midshipman.

The Great Lakes Campaign.

Just as the fighting on Lake Champlain and the inland waters had a very great effect on the War of American Independence, so the fierce naval fighting on the Great Lakes had a great effect on the 1812 war. This sort of fighting suited the Americans excellently, and of course it was impossible for the British to bring an overwhelming force to bear on them, as they could in the open sea. The advantages of the campaign were all with the Americans and they made full use of them.

Lake Ontario.

When war broke out, the British flag on Lake Ontario was borne by six ships, manned and maintained in Canada, mounting about 80 guns in all. The Americans had one 16-gun brig, but she was a regular Navy ship, and when the Canadians attacked at Sackett's Harbour they were beaten off. Captain Isaac Chauncey was then appointed to the American command of the lake, and immediately set about building a fleet of schooners, and in the meantime chased the Canadian fleet off the lake with the material that he had on hand. In 1813 a number of British seamen were brought up, under Captain Sir James Yeo, and the terms were more even. Chauncey began by a successful combined operation on York and Fort George. The British reply was to attack Sackett's Harbour, but although they did a certain amount of damage and burned an American prize, they were unsuccessful. Yeo was, however, able to hold the lake and this materially affected the success of the American invasion of Canada. There was nothing like a real action until September, when the two squadrons came into contact in York Bay, when the Americans certainly had the best of the action but wasted

their success. With the exception of some gallant cutting-out work the rest of the war was uninteresting as far as Ontario was concerned.

Lake Huron.

Little happened on Lake Huron until July, 1814, when Captain Arthur Sinclair took in five small ships from Perry's force. Having done a certain amount of work, he returned to Erie, leaving the *Scorpion* and *Tigress* to hold the lake. The commanders of these two vessels appear to have had very little suspicion of danger, with the result that a cutting-out expedition under Lieutenant Miller Worsley captured the *Tigress*, after a gallant defence. Two days later the *Scorpion* joined company without the least idea that the *Tigress* had been captured, and was boarded and carried before her men had time to arm themselves.

The Battle of Lake Erie.

The most important part of the lake campaign was the action on Lake Erie on the 10th of September, 1813, an action which is the most noteworthy of its type in the century. At the beginning of the war the British had the control of the lake, but in the winter of 1812 Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, one of the most brilliant young officers in the American Navy, was sent up to take command. Soon after, Commander Robert Barclay took over the British forces, and both sides immediately began to improve their material. This material was of a very makeshift description, and the crews were still more so, consisting partly of regular navy men, partly of soldiers, partly of trappers and frontiersmen, and partly of any adventurers who would take service. Finally the American force got to sea, nine ships in all including the two new brigs that had just been completed, with a total tonnage of 1,671 and a broadside fire of 896 pounds. The British squadron only had one new brig in it, and consisted of six ships in all, with a total tonnage of 1,460 and a broadside weight of only 459. The Americans had sickness in their fleet, but the British were short of food, and Barclay was forced to fight against his better judgment. To begin with, the British had a big advantage in the action, for the light wind prevented the American rear from coming to the support of the van, and practically the whole of the crew of the flagship *Lawrence* were down before she was abandoned. Perry then transferred his flag to the *Niagara*. The rest of the American fleet then came up and, hopelessly outmatched, Barclay was forced to strike after a very gallant resistance. The Americans thus gained the control of the upper lake and all that it meant to their campaign.

Lake Champlain.

The appointment of Captain Thomas Macdonough to command the American forces on Lake Champlain made a huge difference, for, until he arrived in 1813, the British had control of the lake. He immediately set to work to improve the American flotilla, and by August, 1814, he was in a position to defend the lake path against an army of 11,000 men

which was coming down from Canada to attack New York. Macdonough had the 26-gun *Saratoga*, the 20-gun *Eagle*, the 17-gun *Ticonderoga*, the 7-gun *Preble*, and 10 galleys, while the British squadron, under Downie, consisted of the 37-gun *Confiance*, the 16-gun *Linnet*, the 11-gun *Chub* and *Finch*, and 12 galleys. The British force had some superiority in long guns, but there was little difference between the two. Macdonough had ample opportunity of making every preparation for a fight, and took full advantage of it. This was shown when the action of the 11th of August, 1814, was half-way through, and when there was very little advantage to either side. Macdonough then got the *Saratoga* round so that her disengaged battery came to bear, and soon forced the *Confiance* to strike. After that one British ship after another was overwhelmed, and at the end of the day the British had lost over 300 men, against the American's 200. More important, however, was the fact that the army was obliged to turn back, and that the defeat of this invasion had a material effect upon the peace terms which were subsequently arranged.

The Chesapeake Expedition.

In the spring of 1813 Rear-Admiral George Cockburn was ordered to harry the inhabitants of Chesapeake Bay. The British fleet was victualled from American farms, and, naturally enough, Cockburn's name was detested in America, although the administration which left the coast without protection escaped censure. A little later Admiral Warren determined to attack the town of Norfolk, with the adjacent Portsmouth navy yard, but this expedition was badly handled and insufficient allowance was made for shallow water and land intersected by creeks, so that finally the British retired with heavy loss, while the Americans did not have a single casualty. A subsequent attack on Hampton was more successful, but a French regiment in the British service misbehaved so badly after the action that a series of outrages and counter-outrages began.

The Attack on Washington.

By this time, unfortunately, a very bitter feeling had sprung up, and retaliations were the order of the day on both sides. In the summer of 1814 an attack was planned on Washington, a small British army under Major-General Robert Ross co-operating with Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander S. I. Cochrane and Rear-Admiral George Cockburn. The only material American forces to oppose them on the water were a number of gunboats under the command of Captain Joshua Barney, which put up a gallant fight as long as they could and were then burned. Barney kept his men together, however, and, making them into a naval brigade, marched to the defence of Washington, where they were among the only American troops who made a gallant stand, the militia, on which the capital was supposed to depend, flying at the beginning of the action. Barney was captured, but his gallantry and ability were well recognised on the British side, and, as he himself wrote, the victorious

British treated him and his men as if they were brothers. The army then marched on to Washington, destroyed the public buildings and re-embarked.

The "Shannon" and the "Chesapeake."

On his triumphant return in the U.S.S. *Hornet*, Captain James Lawrence was given the command of the 38-ton frigate *Chesapeake* at Boston, one of the poorest of the larger American ships and one that had already had a good deal of trouble with her crew. Therefore, although he borrowed a few men from the blockaded *Constitution*, he found that when he commissioned his ship he was in very much the same position as the British captains who had to rely on the press gang. However, there was no doubting Lawrence's gallantry, and when H.M. 98-gun frigate *Shannon*, under the command of Captain Philip Vere Broke, appeared off Boston, he was quite sure that he could repeat the triumph of the *Hornet*. Broke was one of the outstanding figures in the British service, a seaman to his finger-tips, far more humane than his contemporaries and a man who was far-sighted enough to see the importance of gunnery and to train his men very thoroughly in that particular. It is worth noting that his men worshipped him. Captain Broke sent a challenge to Lawrence in which he chivalrously stated that he would accept action in any spot desired by his adversary, thus avoiding taking advantage of the *Chesapeake* just leaving port. The two ships met about midday on 1st of June, 1813, the slight superiority, both in metal and men, being on the side of the American. The first gun was fired at 5.50, and at 6.5 the British carried the ship by boarding, after having inflicted appalling damage and casualties by their gunfire, but also suffering a good deal in return. The gallant Captain Lawrence was shot by a subaltern of Royal Marines as the ships came together, his last words being "Don't give up the ship."

The Peace of Ghent.

The peace that ended the war was nearly as unsatisfactory as the war itself. On paper it left practically the whole of the matters in dispute open and still liable to cause trouble, the fact that they did not do so before the era of arbitration and mutual concession set in being a fine tribute to the two countries. It was tacitly agreed that there should be no repetition of the original grievance, impressment and search, but at the same time far-seeing Americans realised how near their country's weakness at sea had brought her to destruction and for many years after that were constantly arguing for a strong Navy. The war was marked by magnificent gallantry on both sides and one well-known American historian has gone so far as to say that this gallantry more than made up for the comparatively small loss of life. Certainly it gave both sides a better regard for one another, but it was deplorable that such a struggle should have taken place.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

ACTION BETWEEN H.M.S. " SHANNON " AND THE U.S. FRIGATE " CHESAPEAKE " OFF BOSTON LIGHTHOUSE ON THE 1ST OF JUNE, 1813

(From an Aquatint in Colours Engraved by J. Jeakes after a Painting by John Theophilus Lee)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

SIR PHILIP VERE BROKE (1776-1841)
(From a Proof Mezzotint by C. Turner after Lane)

By training his men properly in gunnery Captain Broke showed that British seamen could do as well as the Americans and in H.M.S. Shannon *captured the U.S.S.* Chesapeake. *Unfortunately the wound he sustained in this action prevented him from being employed again.*

(Macpherson Collection)

CAPTAIN BROKE BOARDING THE " CHESAPEAKE "
(From an Aquatint in Colours by Dubourg after W Heath, Published 1816)

JAMES LAWRENCE
(From an Engraving Published by M. Thomas, Philadelphia, 1813)

One of the most successful commanders in the U.S. Navy, Lawrence's one fault was his excessive gallantry. As Captain of the Chesapeake *he was willing to fight H.M.S.* Shannon *with an untrained crew and with the odds all against him.*

CAPTURE OF THE U.S.S. "ARGUS" BY H.M.S. "PELICAN," 14 AUGUST, 1813
(From an Aquatint in Colours by T. Sutherland after T. Whitcombe, Published 1817)

This action reversed the usual result of the single-ship duels of the 1812 *war, the* Pelican *capturing the* Argus *without any great difficulty.*

(From a print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

AN AMERICAN SLOOP OF THE " HORNET " CLASS (1814)
(From a Contemporary Drawing)

In their small craft the American designers repeated their successes with frigates, building them both faster and more powerful than their British antagonists.

ATTACK ON FORT OSWEGO, LAKE ONTARIO, 6 MAY, 1814

Based on Artillery in Canada in R. Hewett's Drawing by Lieut. Le Hewett, Published 1 May, 1815

This was one of the minor engagements of the War of 1812.

PERRY'S VICTORY ON LAKE ERIE, 10 SEPTEMBER, 1813
(From an Engraving by Lawson after Painting by T. Birch)

Perry's flagship was so badly hammered by the British flotilla under Capt. Barclay that in the middle of the action he had to transfer to another ship.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

MACDONOUGH'S VICTORY ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, SEPTEMBER, 1814
(From an Engraving by B. Tanner after a Painting by R. Reinagle, Published 1816)

Although the forces employed were comparatively insignificant, the possession of the Lake was of the greatest importance, as it covered the road from Canada to New York.

PORTSMOUTH POINT, 1814. A CONTEMPORARY ROWLANDSON CARTOON.

(Macpherson Collection)

CAPTURE OF AMERICAN GUNBOATS ON LAKE BORGNE, 14 DECEMBER, 1814
(From a Lithograph by Hullmandel after a Drawing by Lieut. Williams)

The capture of five American gunboats under Lieut. Jones after a very gallant resistance was the first success of the unfortunate New Orleans expedition.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE U S FRIGATE " PRESIDENT " AND HER CAPTORS H.M.SS. " ENDYMION," " MAJESTIC," ETC.,
16 JANUARY, 1815
(From an Aquatint by J. Jeakes after T Buttersworth, Published June 1, 1815)

The Schooner "Saratoga" captures the Brig "Rachel," 15 December, 1812.

The Schooner "Decatur" captures the British Schooner "Dominica," 5 August, 1813.

AMERICAN PRIVATEERS AT WORK IN THE WAR OF 1812
(From Lithographs by Weingartner, New York)

The lower picture gives a somewhat exaggerated view of a long 9-pounder mounted amidships that was generally a feature in the American privateers. In this action the Dominica *had her entire crew killed or wounded.*

CHAPTER VIII—PRIVATEERS AND FILIBUSTERS

The Privateers of the Period.

The series of wars which started in 1793 and which lasted until 1815 were the Golden Age of the privateer. In France they first supplied the deficiencies of the Navy disorganised by the Revolution, then kept the British fleet busy while the Emperor Napoleon conserved his regular Navy for more important work and finally did much to replace the fleet shattered at Trafalgar. In the United States they supplied a valuable measure of naval power to a penniless government harassed by a close blockade.

The Dunkirk Privateers.

Dunkirk had always been a nest of privateers from the very earliest days of shipping history, and as soon as the first Revolutionary War broke out in 1793, the merchants of the port commenced to fit out corsairs. One can well understand that the town had no particular love for the English, for as soon as hostilities commenced between the two countries it was usual to go across and bombard Dunkirk. Within a month from war breaking out some thirty vessels had applied for letters of marque, and ten British prizes had already been brought in. Such shipping men as had made a study of history soon had reason to rue the memory of Charles II, who let the port go so easily.

A French Volunteer Fleet.

When the Russian Volunteer Fleet was founded in 1877 for the purpose of preying on British commerce, it was regarded as an innovation, but in 1793 it was proposed to establish a company in France styling itself Les Armateurs de la Liberté, with a capital of twenty million francs. They offered to provide the Republican Government with two 74-gun line-of-battle ships, six 40-gun and six 36-gun frigates, twenty 24-gun corvettes and twelve small craft, on condition that they were to be allowed to keep all prizes. The Government insisted that if they went about their business in that manner, their profits should be taxed in the same way that other French business was taxed at the time, and the promoters of the scheme decided to let it drop.

Louis Lebeille.

One of the most famous of the Dunkirk privateers at the beginning of the Revolutionary War was Louis Lebeille, a thorough seaman who had been in turn fisherman, smuggler and privateer. He took out letters of marque as soon as war broke out, but it was not until the struggle had been in progress for two years that he began to be regarded as a man in the front rank. His ship was then the *Vengeance*, brig-rigged, having 12 guns and 84 men, and, being specially built for her work, she was an extraordinary fast sailer. Her bow and stern chasers were long 12-pounders, her broadside guns ten 6-pounders. On his first cruise in this ship Lebeille captured 20 English prizes, of which five were looted and then burned in order to save precious prize crews. The remaining 15 were safely taken into harbour. The richest of the prizes

had been taken within sight of the British coast. After that he went from success to success and was soon regarded as the finest corsair out of Dunkirk, a captain who had his pick of the men in the town and who invariably selected first-class gunners and musketeers. By this means he was able to take some powerfully armed British merchantmen. When he had made his name as a privateer, he was more or less compelled to take a commission in the French Navy, although he had no taste for that life and much preferred the free and easy career of a corsair. Also he was regarded with a good deal of jealousy by his fellow naval officers, and the three years that he spent in the Republican service were the most miserable of his life and produced nothing. He was finally able to get his discharge and took over a fine 36-gun privateer, the *Psyché*, fitted out at Bordeaux. He manned her very largely by his old men from Dunkirk, but he was allowed forty French naval seamen. In her he cruised round the Atlantic islands and did great damage among British and Portuguese shipping, and his phenomenally successful career as a privateer was only cut short by the Peace of Amiens. What happened to him after then, nobody knows.

The Defence of the "Lord Eldon."

As a general rule the French privateers attacked East Indiamen homeward bound, for by that time their crews were very much reduced by sickness, desertion and the attention of the Press Gang, and, generally speaking, they were in no condition to put up a good defence. Occasionally, however, they tackled an Indiaman going out with a whole crew, notably in the case of the *Lord Eldon*. She was lying off the Needles waiting for some belated passengers when she was surrounded by a fog. A French privateer had been hovering not very far away—such audacity on their part was by no means unusual—and her captain immediately determined to take advantage of the chance that had fallen to his lot. Under cover of the mist he came right alongside the Indiaman before he was discovered, when her crew immediately jumped to the conclusion that it was a British frigate bent on impressing some of them, and, instead of making any defence, they immediately hid themselves wherever opportunity offered. The Frenchman thus took possession of the *Lord Eldon's* deck without any difficulty, when the captain, hearing something usual, came on deck and immediately grasped the situation. His impetuous gallantry drove most of the privateers forward and he cut down the Frenchmen who had taken possession of his ship's wheel, but he was hard put to it to defend himself until his crew, attracted by his shouts, emerged from their hiding-places and speedily drove the attackers overboard.

The Loss of the "Pelican," Privateer.

The fact that the British Navy soon chased the bulk of the French mercantile marine off the seas gave very little opportunity for British privateers to distinguish themselves, but a number were fitted out immediately war broke out. One of these was the *Pelican*, which was

specially built at Liverpool as a privateer and launched, all standing, on March 20th, 1793. She was a big ship for her type, carrying 20 guns and 100 men, and another hundred odd people boarded her to cruise up and down the Mersey before she put to sea. Many women and children were in the party, and there was great excitement until, putting about opposite Seacombe, she filled and capsized, going down inside ten minutes with all hands. Nearly a hundred people were drowned and the wreck lay there for many years. One of the saved was James Creasey, who was pilot when the accident occurred and who was tried for manslaughter by alleged carelessness but was acquitted.

The Cruise of the Cutter "Dudgeon."

Only a few British privateers were specially built for their work—they took too many badly needed bluejackets to be encouraged by the authorities—and all sorts of rigs were employed. In April, 1793, the cutter *Dudgeon* put to sea, and soon afterwards captured the French brig *St. Roman*, loaded with rice, tobacco and skins, which yielded £5,000. She escorted her home and then went back to sea, immediately capturing a French ship valued at £15,000. She then recaptured the Greenock brig *Argyle*, which had been taken by the French. A few weeks afterwards it was a Spanish brig laden with valuable cargo, then the French ship *L'Espérance*—this prize was taken in conjunction with the privateer *Jenny*—which had to be sent round the north of Scotland in order to reach Liverpool in safety. In the beginning of 1794 she was herself very nearly captured, but soon resumed her career of good luck. In March, however, she and a consort were captured by the French and taken into Brest, where they were added to the French Navy. The *Dudgeon* was recaptured later in the year and returned to her owners.

The Press Gang and the Privateers.

The privateers were supposed to have some sort of protection from the Press Gang, but it did not avail them very much when the Navy was short of men, and in October, 1793, there was an extraordinary affray in Liverpool. Captain Felix M'Ilroy, master of the privateer *Ann*, had a dispute with the local Press Gang, one of whom drew his pistol and killed the captain. The murderer escaped to the press tender that was moored in the Mersey, but he was soon arrested and charged with murder. He was lucky at the Assizes to get off with a month in gaol. This incensed the local privateers and seamen, and a huge body of them attacked the various headquarters of the Press Gang in Liverpool and completely gutted them. It was felt that they had a good deal of right on their side, so that the Mayor contented himself with urging them to return to their homes, which they did immediately. In passing it may be mentioned that it was customary in Liverpool to ring the bell in the shipyards if the Press Gang attempted to seize a local carpenter or shipwright, when the mob soon had him released.

The Arming of Merchantmen.

There was always a danger of privateer turning pirate when prizes

were scarce, and for that reason there was a certain amount of regulation as to the armament that they shipped. Generally speaking, however, a privateer could carry as many guns as he could afford, but a peaceful merchantmen without letters of marque was limited in her defence. The law of George III was that for every ten men in her crew she was not allowed to have more than two carriage guns, not bigger than 4-pounders, and two muskets. If any merchantman carried more than this without a privateer's licence, she was liable to be seized and forfeited. In such circumstances it is not surprising that a good many ships fell very easy victims to the enemy or to pirates.

The Privateer "Dick."

One of the best known of the Liverpool privateers was the *Dick*, a converted Guineaman, mounting 20 light guns. Under the command of Captain Isaac Dark, she was on her way to Gibraltar when she was attacked by eight gunboats and beat them off after an action of three and a half hours. After a successful cruise she fell in with a French 22-gun corvette, at whose hands she suffered severely, especially from the musketeers in her tops. She was so badly hammered in the hull that they had to call off the action to repair damages, which, considering the fact that the enemy carried 12-pounder guns while the biggest on board the *Dick* was a 6-pounder, is not surprising. Having repaired damage, the *Dick* bore up to renew the action, but the Frenchman had already had enough. For this very meritorious little scrap the underwriters of Lloyd's gave Captain Dark 200 guineas, which he did not get until nearly five years later. In 1800 this same *Dick* returned to her normal trading duties, fell in with the French 22-gun corvette *La Grande Décide*, one of the best known letters of marque that they had. Nevertheless, the little Guineaman sustained a grand action for over seven hours before she was reduced to a wreck and compelled to strike, but by then she had inflicted 39 casualties on her attacker.

An Anglo-American Incident.

Although many people were trying to stir up bad blood between the British and Americans all through the Revolutionary War, there was occasional warm co-operation at sea, which well deserves mention. In particular there was the case of the American ship *Herald*, under the command of the celebrated Captain Nathaniel Silsbee, which, in November, 1800, was returning home from Calcutta with three other well-armed American merchantmen. In the Indian Ocean they came across the East India Company's ship *Cornwallis*, being attacked by the French privateer *La Gloire*, who was giving her a very bad time of it with grape. The American fleet immediately cleared for action—a proceeding which caused them to throw overboard a very considerable value in poultry, and not only made preparations to defend themselves but to help the British ship. *La Gloire* was a powerfully armed privateer, mounting twenty-two 9-pounders and carrying 400 men, but the Americans were much more careful with the arming of their ships

(*Macpherson Collection*)

AN AMERICAN PRIVATEER OF THE 1812 WAR PERIOD
(From an Oil Painting by Burton, Dated 1815)

THE "WESTMORELAND" PACKET (CAPT. WOLFE) BEATING OFF A FRENCH PRIVATEER NEAR ST. EUSTATIA, 1797
(From an Engraving by Elmes, August, 1797)

On account of their light armament the Post Office packets were not always successful in beating off even the small privateers.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE SNOW "JENNY," OF LONDON, ATTACKED BY A FRENCH PRIVATEER, 29 NOVEMBER, 1804

(From an Aquatinted Etching by W. J. White after a Painting by W. Anderson, Published May, 1805)

Both in speed and armament the snows and brigs which carried so much of Britain's commerce at this time were but a poor match for the average well-equipped French privateer.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

H.M. POST OFFICE PACKET "WINDSOR CASTLE" BEATING OFF A FRENCH SCHOONER PRIVATEER OFF BARBADOS, 1 OCTOBER, 1807

(From an Aquatint in Colours by J. B. Harraden after T. Whitcombe, Published January, 1808)

This was one of the most famous actions of the sort, and it reflected the greatest credit on the packet's people.

THE "FALMOUTH" POST OFFICE PACKET, 8 GUNS, ATTACKED BY THE AMERICAN PRIVATEER "GRAND TURK," OF SALEM, 18 GUNS, 1 MAY, 1814

(From an Aquatint in Colours after Pocock, Published 1819)

By magnificent seamanship the packet's captain contrived to get into such a position that his superior enemy was glad enough to retire

than most British shipowners, and as the Yankee squadron came into range they gave *La Gloire* such a warm reception that she turned about and made her escape. The *Cornwallis* remained with them until the Frenchman had finally decided that he had no chance of taking her prize.

Robert Surcouf.

The most famous of the French privateers of this period, however, was undoubtedly Robert Surcouf, whose name was the terror of the Indian Ocean. He was born at St. Malo in 1773 and went out to the East Indies at the age of 16 as a volunteer in the slaver *Aurore*. This ship was wrecked, and at the time of the disaster he showed the greatest gallantry and coolness, with the result that he attracted the attention of his owners and the authorities, and in 1792 he found himself carrying slaves—euphemistically described as free labourers—from Madagascar to Mauritius in the brig *Créole*. Unfortunately, slaving and the Rights of Man to which the French Republic was bound did not quite agree, with the result that, when he applied for a privateer's commission at Mauritius, it was refused him, and he had to go to slaving again in order to fit out the *Créole* as a corsair. He then cruised after British commerce without a commission, which was, of course, rank piracy, but one can have a good deal of sympathy with Surcouf's fervent patriotism against the pigheaded obstinacy of the authorities at Mauritius. He then fitted out the *Modeste*, a ship of 180 tons, carrying 30 men, but only allowed to carry four 6-pounder guns to defend herself as a merchantman. He rechristened her *Emilie*, and, still without a commission, he cruised so successfully that his prizes brought him the coveted letters of marque.

Surcouf in the Indian Ocean.

Having fitted her out properly, Surcouf then cruised in the *Emilie* and made a large number of prizes, his daring taking him right into the Sandheads at the mouth of the Hooghly, where he captured a number of British ships. Finally he sighted a pilot brig, which he decided was just the fast, seaworthy vessel that he wanted for his purposes, and, capturing her, he transferred his flag to her and commissioned her under the name of *Cartier*. His success aroused the jealousy of the authorities in Mauritius—then still L'Ile de France—and there was a good deal of difficulty over his prizes. He was not the man to stand any argument from the shore officials whom he held in such contempt and they were not slow to retaliate, so that eventually he sailed for France to get the powerful Government backing that would enable him to override this opposition.

The Cruise of the "Clarisse."

In spite of the opposition that he had received from the authorities at Mauritius, Surcouf's reputation had gone home before him, with the result that he had no difficulty in obtaining the command of the 14-gun privateer *Clarisse* of Nantes, a magnificent, specially designed vessel carrying 140 men. He operated on the Brazilian coast before he

rounded the Cape to Mauritius, and with the official backing that he received in France he was able to talk terms to the objectionable Government of Mauritius. On one occasion in the *Clarisse* he was chased by H.M. frigate *Sybille* and forced to throw all his heavy guns overboard, yet within a few hours he was cruising again and arming himself from the prizes that he took. In 1800 he transferred to the famous *Confiance*, with which his name will always be associated, and soon after he left her the *Clarisse* was captured by H.M.S. *Leopard*. It was on October 7th of this year that Surcouf in the *Confiance* captured the East Indiaman *Kent* after an action which resulted in the merchantman having 11 men killed and 44 wounded. This was one of the most famous captures in the war and confirmed his reputation. When the Peace of Amiens came, he married and settled down, but when war broke out again he was given the Legion of Honour, and although he refused a commission in the French Navy, he was consulted on naval matters by Napoleon, who was very much impressed by his plans for the destruction of British commerce.

Surcouf's Last Cruise.

In 1803 he commissioned the *Revenant*, and in spite of the shortage of seamen in France, his influence at court got him a number of naval ratings for her crew. He went out to Mauritius as before, but the quarrel with Governor Decaen was getting worse, and in the meantime Sir Edward Pellew's system had made the work of the privateer very much more difficult and prizes more rare. Yet he contrived to do well, until the Governor seized his ship as a man-of-war and made him go to sea in a wretched, worn-out warship named the *Semillante*, which he renamed the *Charles*. He did everything that he could to avoid this command, until finally Decaen said that he would send him to sea in a man-of-war as a junior officer unless he obeyed orders. He then took her home to St. Malo and had a number of hairbreadth escapes on the way. After that he did not care to go to sea again, but remained at St. Malo and put other people in command of the privateers that he fitted out with the enormous fortune that he had by then acquired. After the Peace of 1814, and until his death in 1827, it is to be feared that he was again engaged in slaving.

A Privateer Action.

One of the most extraordinary actions in history occurred in the summer of 1803, when the French 22-gun privateer *Blonde* fell in with the English 18-gun privateer *Young Nicholas*, and, after a gallantly maintained fight of an hour and a half, compelled the British ship to strike. The *Blonde* had already had a most successful cruise, during which she had captured no fewer than 78 British ships, with the result that her captain presented the British master with his captured ship as an acknowledgment of the gallant defence which he and his crew had put up against superior metal.

The Defence of the "Windsor Castle."

The attacks of French privateers on British commerce were not always successful, however, as witness the famous and gallant defence

of the *Windsor Castle* mail packet in 1807. It was such a gallant fight, and the report of Captain Rogers was so straightforward and modest that one cannot do better than quote it in full:—

Windsor Castle, packet,
Carlisle Bay,
October 3rd, 1807.

SIR,—Having on my passage from England in the *Windsor Castle* packet, with the mails for the Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, been attacked by a French privateer within the limits of your station I take the liberty of acquainting you that we were fortunate enough to capture her after a severe action and arrived with her safe in this Bay.

She was seen on the morning of October 1st in latitude 13°53′ north and longitude 78°1′ west, and about half-past eight made all sail in chase of the packet when every exertion was made to get away from her. But finding it impossible preparations were made to make the best resistance we could and arrangements to sink the mails if necessary.

At noon the schooner got within gunshot, hoisted French colours and began her fire, which was returned from our stern chase guns. This was continued until she came near, when we were hailed in very opprobrious terms and desired to strike our colours. On refusing to do so she ran alongside, grappled the packet and attempted to board, which was repulsed by the pikes with a loss of 8 or 10 men on the part of the enemy, when the schooner attempted to get clear by cutting the grapplings. But the main yard being locked in her rigging she was prevented. Great exertions continued being used on both sides and I had occasion to place a part of the crew in charge of the mails to ship them as circumstances required or to cut them away in case of failure.

About three we got one of our six-pounder carronades to bear upon the schooner, loaded with double grape, canister and a hundred musket balls, which was fired at the moment that the enemy was making a second desperate attempt to board and killed and wounded a very great number. Soon after this I embraced the opportunity to turn with five men and succeeded in driving the enemy from his quarters and about four o'clock the schooner was completely in our possession. She is named the *Jeune Richard,* mounting six long 9-pounders and one long 18-pounder, having on board at the commencement of the action 92 men, of whom 22 were found dead on the deck and 33 wounded. From the very superior number of the enemy still remaining it was necessary to use every precaution in securing the prisoners. I was obliged to order them up from below one by one and place them in our own irons as they came, as three of our little crew were killed and ten severely wounded. The mizzenmast and mainyard carried away and the rigging fore and aft much damaged. It is my duty to mention to you, Sir, that the crew of the packet, amounting at first to only 28 men and boys, supported me with the greatest gallantry during the whole of the arduous contest.

I have the honour, etc.,
W. Rogers.

When one considers the superiority of the French privateer, and the fact that the authorities attempted to prevent the mail packets fighting by providing them with the lightest possible armament, the gallantry

of Captain W. Rogers and his 27 followers is well worthy of full record.

The Privateers of 1812.

As soon as war broke out between the United States and Britain in 1812, the New England States commenced to commission privateers. Their first capture was made by the privateer *Dash* of Baltimore, armed with a single gun, which fell in with the British schooner *Whiting*, under the command of Lieutenant Maxcey, which was quite unaware that war had been declared and which was actually carrying despatches to the U.S. Government at Washington. Of course there was great delight at the capture, but the American Government immediately ordered her to be released and permitted her to clear American waters.

The Pilot Cutters.

Although they were not big, some of the best and most successful of the American privateers early in the war were the converted pilot cutters, which were specially designed for speed and seaworthiness, and which were quite capable of mounting a single long gun and a few carronades. Their crews were also armed with muskets and cutlasses, and, working from the West Indian islands to the St. Lawrence, they did a good deal of damage to British shipping, while one of them slipped across the Atlantic as soon as war was declared and gave timely warning to as many American ships as she could get into touch with.

The Cruise of the "Fair Trader."

One of the most successful and remarkable cruises of the American privateersmen was that of the *Fair Trader*, a tiny coasting schooner mounting one gun and crowded with a crew of 25 men. She went to sea under the command of Captain J. Morgan, and immediately captured three British schooners. The prize crews for these ships reduced her ship's company to 15 men, when she fell in with the 400-ton British ship *Jarrett*, mounting two 6-pounders and having a crew of 18. Of these 18, however, four were Americans, who helped their compatriots considerably, and she was captured without difficulty. Finally her bag consisted of one ship, one brig and five schooners, when she fell in with H.M. 18-gun brig *Indian* and was immediately captured. It was a very welcome prize for the British brig, for only a day or two before she had been mistaken for a trader by the Salem privateers *Polly* and *Dolly Madison*. They were almost aboard her when they discovered their mistake and made all sail to escape, the British pursuing in their launch and longboat. The two Americans, supporting one another gallantly, opened such a destructive fire on the two boats that they were compelled to withdraw, when the *Dolly Madison* calmly captured a transport brig which was being convoyed by the *Indian* and which was loaded with munitions that were very welcome to the American Army.

The "Yankees."

In a previous volume the adventures of the American privateers of the Yankee Family were mentioned, but those which were commissioned by Rhode Island owners in the 1812 war were far more successful. They were the *Yankee*, the *Yankee Lass*, the *Yankee Porter*, the *Yankee American*, and the *True-Blooded Yankee*, and together they

(*Macpherson Collection*)

DESTRUCTION OF "LA MOUCHE," FRENCH PRIVATEER OF BOULOGNE, 14 GUNS AND 73 MEN, BY H.M.S. "HERMES," SEPT. 14TH, 1811, OFF BEACHY HEAD IN A HEAVY GALE AT S.W.

made great inroads into British shipping. They operated in American waters or on the African coast, just as suited the circumstances of the moment. In six cruises the *Yankee* herself took 9 ships, 5 schooners, 1 sloop and 25 brigs, valued at five million dollars. The *True-Blooded Yankee* took 27 ships of all sorts before she was captured by the British, but, unlike most privateers, she burned nearly all her captures at sea. The other three were all captured by the British with very little trouble.

A Peculiar Cruise.

In September, 1813, an American privateer, the *Timothy Pickering*, was fitted out at Gloucester for one of the most peculiar cruises in the war. She was specially designed to capture American merchantmen. At that time there were a number of American ships who found it very profitable to trade with the British armies fighting in Spain and Portugal, in spite of the fact that their country was at war with the British. Their action caused the greatest indignation in the United States and several of them were captured by their own people. In another case the Salem privateer *Castigator* captured the Boston brig *Despatch*, which was engaged in this trade. She was duly taken into Boston Bay, where her owners armed 50 men and sent them out on a cutting-out expedition against the privateer's prize crew. After a warm fight they succeeded in carrying her and took her into port, where they were immediately sued by the owners of the privateer and a very pretty legal battle ensued.

CHAPTER IX—THE SHIPS OF THE PERIOD

Bigger Line-of-Battle Ships.

Except for minor improvements, mostly in rig, the science of naval architecture had made but little progress for a number of years, but towards the end of 1790 the British Admiralty decided to build something that should be at least as big as the finest French and Spanish ships, and accordingly a new class of line-of-battle ship, mounting 110 guns, was designed. The *Hibernia* was laid down at Plymouth but was not launched until 1804; the *Ville de Paris* took the water at Chatham in 1795. They were not quite sister ships, the *Ville de Paris* being slightly shorter and beamier, but their burden ran out between 2,300 and 2,500 tons and in other respects they were sisters. On the lower deck they carried 30 32-pounders, on the middle deck 30 24-pounders, on the upper deck 32 18-pounders, and on their forecastle and quarter-decks 18 12-pounders, all long guns. Soon afterwards Sir William Rule, who was then the surveyor, designed the *Acasta*, which was very much bigger than most British frigates. She mounted 40 guns in all—30 18-pounders on the main deck and 10 9-pounders on the quarter-deck and forecastle. Later, 16 32-pounder carronades were substituted for 6 of the long 9's. She was 1,142 tons burden and was a very great advance, from the point of view of cruising qualities, on the unsatisfactory two-deck 44-gun ships that she was designed to replace.

Building Ships Under Cover.

Wooden ship construction made it obvious that to have the slips roofed in was a very great advantage, but although it had been quite a usual custom in Venice for something like a century, and although the Swedes had found it of the greatest value, the custom was not introduced into England until the end of the eighteenth century. Before that it had been customary to build a light roofing over the ends of the ship to protect the heels of the forward and after timbers while the frame was seasoning, this light roofing being removed when she was launched.

The Ship's Stores.

In the old days it had been quite the usual thing to omit any measures for obtaining stores for a ship until she was due to commission, with the obvious result that when a ship was commissioned in a hurry there was nothing ready for her and delay was inevitable. Another result was that, when the Government wanted stores badly, it soon found that it was being charged very heavily for them. Towards the end of the War of American Independence the Government very wisely commenced to collect stores in the dockyards, and this policy was carried out through the Revolutionary wars with natural success.

French Designs.

The Revolutionary Wars soon gave further examples of the wisdom of British designers copying the French, for the 40-gun frigate *Pomone* and the 38-gun *Revolutionnaire* were added to the British fleet in 1794 and were universally regarded as the crack and second-best frigates respectively. It must be admitted, however, that the *Pomone* was an exceptionally smart sailer even for a Frenchman. This state of affairs caused a good deal of discontent in the country, and questions were asked in Parliament which elicited the reply that the excellent designs produced were the result of the French Government giving liberal premiums to French contractors for good designs. As a result of this discussion, British frigates were given rather greater length in relation to their beam, and at the same time the lower-deck batteries of the faster line-of-battle ships were raised higher out of the water. But these alterations made little difference in view of the fact that the principal cause of the inferiority of British ships was the endeavour to get too much on to a small displacement, and it was not until this fetish was abandoned that the ships became more successful.

H.M.S. " Endymion."

So great was the success of the captured French *Pomone* that in 1797 H.M. 30-gun frigate *Endymion* was built by contract. She followed closely on the lines of the Frenchman, but her beam was increased by 8 inches, making the proportion of beam to length 1 to 3.74, instead of 1 to 3.79, as in her copy. She had a burden of 1,277 tons, and although perhaps she was not quite as fast as the *Pomone* she was a remarkably successful sailer and a magnificent all-round ship, more than justifying British workmanship and the scientific French design on which her lines were based.

Spanish Designs.

It was only after the battle of St. Vincent in 1796 that British designers really began to realise the merits of the Spaniards. On that occasion the 112-gun ships *San Josef* and *Salvador del Mundo* were captured, and after the battle they surprised their victors by beating all the British ships in working into the Tagus, although they were under jury masts and only had prize crews on board. Yet, compared with their length, they had a bigger beam than practically any of their contemporaries, and the success they attained by good lines came as something of a surprise.

The Colour of the King's Ships.

In the late seventeenth and during the eighteenth century it had been customary to leave the King's ships unpainted externally, but towards the end of the latter century they began to have a broad band of black paint along the water-line and the topsides painted with a dark blue streak. As before, the inside of the ships and the gunports were painted red in order to make the blood less conspicuous in action, but by the end of the eighteenth century a change set in. The whole of the ship's side was painted black with the exception of a yellow band along the gunports. British ships fought under these colours at Trafalgar and not until many years later was the custom of painting this band white introduced.

The Use of the Carronade.

Although it would appear that the victory of H.M.S. *Rainbow* over the French frigate *Hebe* and the fight put up by the *Glatton* with her carronades, should have kept this weapon well in favour all through Europe, yet not everybody was keen on adopting it. The British were the first, and perhaps overdid their favour, the French following suit very soon afterwards and finding the carronade loaded with grape and langrange very useful for clearing British decks. The Danes and Russians also favoured them. Curiously enough, both the Dutch and the Spanish refused to be interested in the new weapon at all. There is little doubt that, had the Dutch fleet at Camperdown possessed fair-sized carronades on their poops and forecastles, they would have done great damage to the British ships. Generally speaking, the Americans also were not so enamoured of the carronade as the British, but they appreciated its virtues far more than did the Dutch. They therefore devised a new gun of their own, the Colombiad. In length this was halfway between the carronade and the long gun. This was an exceedingly useful weapon and they made full use of it; their experience with carronades was not always happy.

Sir Samuel Bentham's Shells.

In the year 1788 Sir Samuel Bentham was allowed to experiment with shells, although not in the British service. He had started his career as a shipwright in Deptford dockyard and had been taken into the Russian Navy. The occasion on which he proved the value of his

theories of shell fire was in 1788, when he took a flotilla of long boats to attack a Turkish squadron in the Sea of Azov. The Turks had a very superior force, and it was anticipated that they could blow the Russians out of the water, but, instead of this happening, they were simply annihilated. The shell fire was at very close range and the projectiles tore great holes in the sides of the Turkish ships before setting them on fire. In a very short time the action was over and the entire Turkish squadron destroyed. It was about the same time that Lieutenant Shrapnel of the Royal Artillery invented the shell which still bears his name, and which would have been of immense use in naval warfare had its value only been properly realised by conservative Boards of Admiralty.

Gun Sights.

It was during the Napoleonic era that several British naval officers attempted to bring in gun sights of various patterns, although they had to put up with a good deal of very active opposition. It even appears that Lord Nelson was one of the opponents to gun sights in the British Navy, for he mentioned in one of his letters that they were useless. As ships should always be at such close quarters with their enemies that missing became impossible, therefore gun sights would be superfluous. The authorities would not countenance such inventions on the ground that they were not according to the regulations of the service. Yet there is no doubt that gun sights could make a big difference even with the inaccurate pieces of the period, and that when the *Shannon* fought the *Chesapeake*, the success of the former was very largely due to the gunnery which Captain Broke had drilled into his men. He invented a sight of his own, which included the provision of a plumb on the gun carriage which showed the actual heel of the ship and permitted him to give accurate orders for elevation. He also grooved the deck around every port, so that he could control the bearings of the gun; in fact he introduced an elementary form of director control such as is worked so scientifically in modern men-of-war. It is a great pity that Captain Broke's principles were not followed more closely in the British and other navies.

Duty-Free Wine for the Navy.

Wine and spirits are now allowed on board H.M. ships duty free and a similar concession was made soon after the outbreak of the first Revolutionary war. It was then on a graduated scale, a flag officer being allowed six tuns and a lieutenant half a tun. Considering that six tuns means rather more than fifteen hundred gallons, the stories that one reads of hard drinking admirals do not appear to overstate what was regarded as normal in those days. Similarly tobacco for the use in H.M. ships, apparently both for officers and men, was allowed to be shipped free of duty.

The Royal Yacht "Royal George."

Yachting really became quite a serious sport during this period, despite handicaps. One of the best known yachts ever put afloat, the

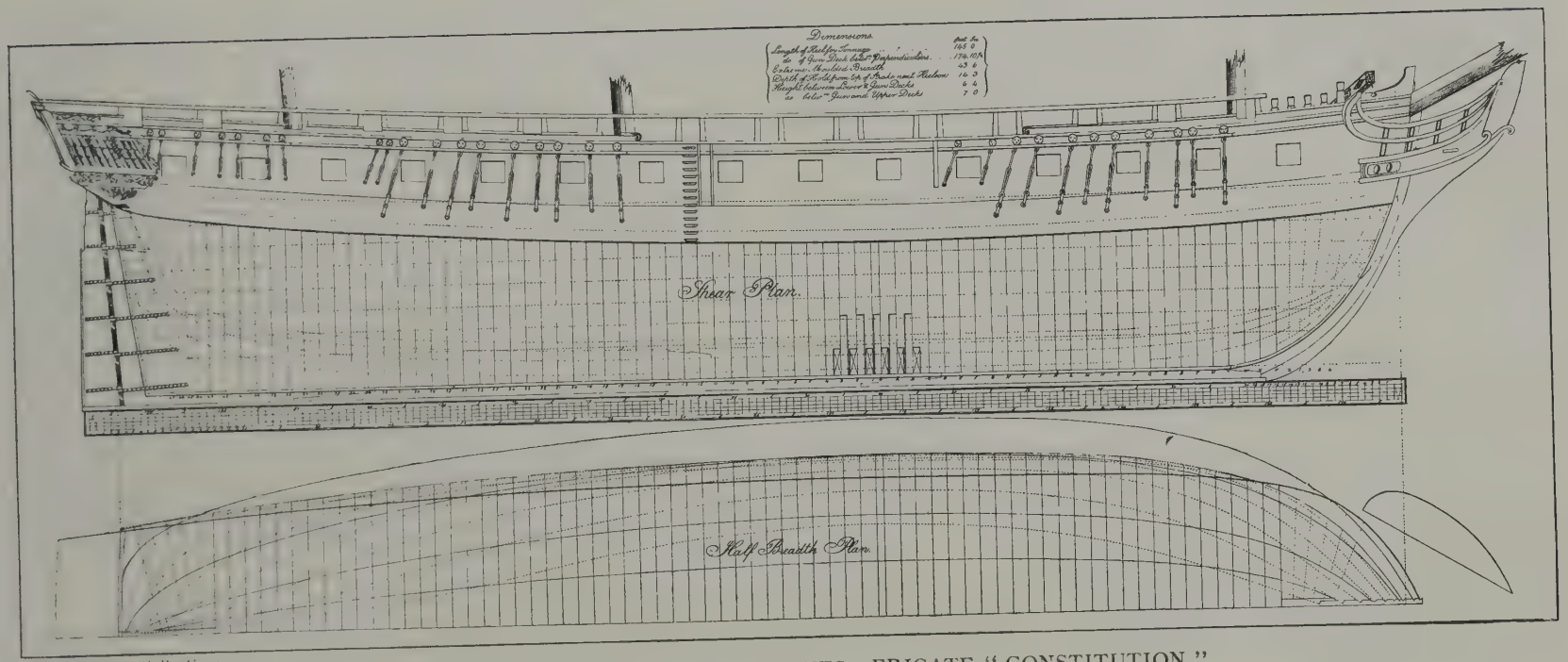
(*Macpherson Collection*)

LAUNCH OF H.M.S. "NELSON," AT WOOLWICH, 1814.
(PAINTED AND ETCHED BY I. T. SERRES; AQUATINTED BY STACK; PUBLISHED 20 JUNE, 1814)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

MODEL OF H.M.S. "VALIANT," 74 GUNS, 1807-1823
(FROM AN AQUATINT IN COLOURS PUBLISHED IN 1814)

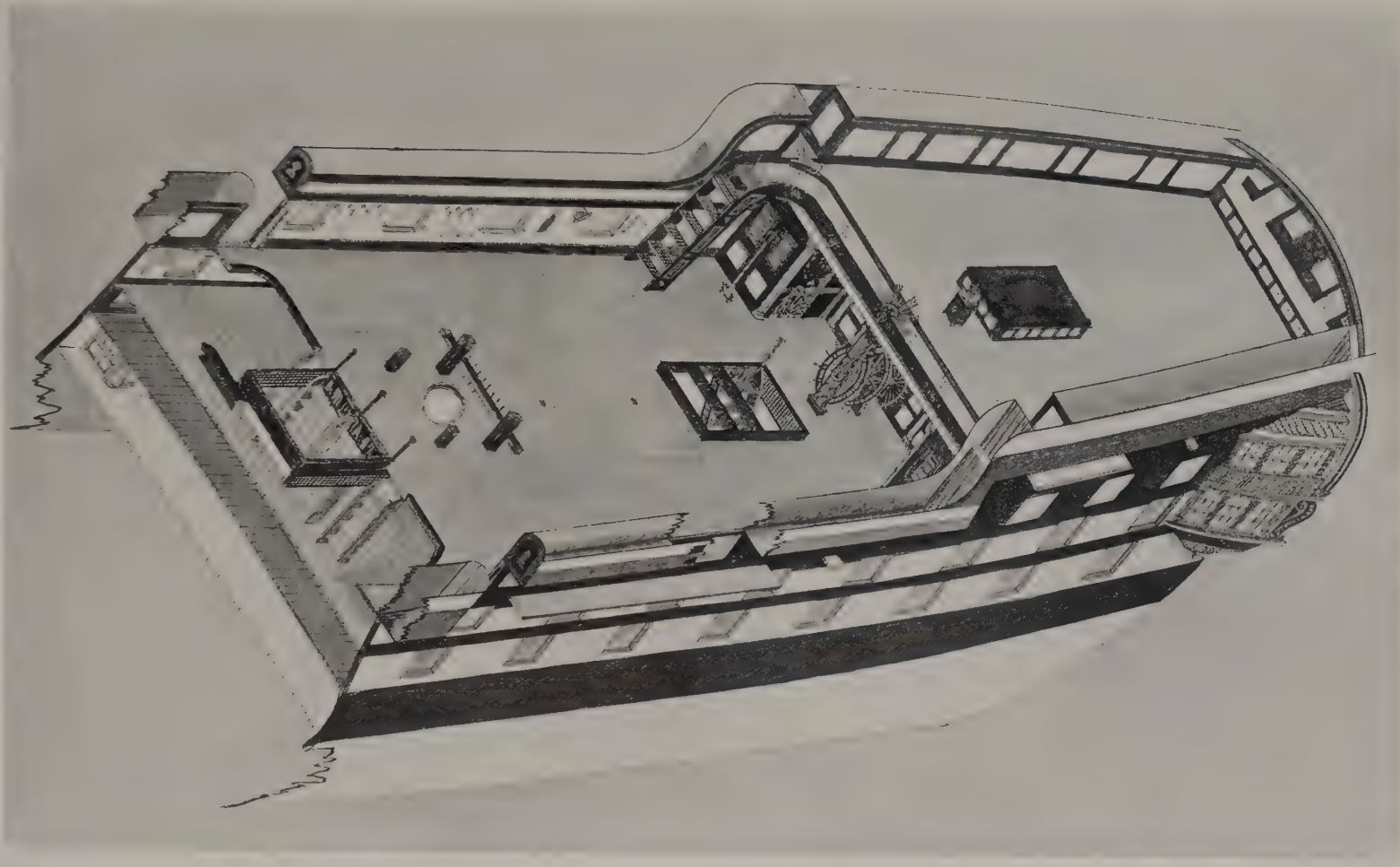
This model gives a good idea of the improvement of the underwater body in ships of this period.


Dimensions
Length of Rud.or Tonnage
do. of Gun Deck clear of Perpendiculars
Extreme Breadth Moulded
Depth of Hold from Gr. of Breadth next Rudder
Height between Lower & Gun Decks
do. betw.n Gun and Upper Decks
Shear Plan.
Half Breadth Plan.

(Macpherson Collection)

SHEER PLAN OF THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE "CONSTITUTION"

The famous Constitution *was one of the finest frigates of her time and was rightly regarded as a masterpiece of naval architecture. The drawing reproduced above is from a copy dated* 1794 *at the Bureau of Construction.*



Macpherson Collection)

QUARTER-DECK AND POOP OF H M.S. "CANOPUS"
(From a Water-colour Drawing, *c.* 1800)

The Canopus, *a prize taken at the Battle of the Nile, was one of the finest sailers in the British Fleet for many years afterwards.*

(*Macpherson Collection*)

A BOMB KETCH IN THE SOUND
(From an Aquatint after Dominic Serres, R.A., published 1806)

The three examples of the same type of vessel show the peculiar rig necessitated by her armament quite clearly.

Royal George, was laid down in 1814 at Deptford Dockyard. She was designed by Sir Henry Peake, Surveyor of the Navy, was fully rigged as a ship and made a great name for herself by her sailing qualities. Her length between perpendiculars was 103 feet, but in those days the tonnage was taken by the length of keel only, which was 84 feet 4 inches. Her extreme beam was 26 feet 8 inches, and her depth of hold 11 feet 6 inches, which gave her a burthen of 330 tons. She was launched with very full ceremony in the presence of the Duke of York, the entire Board of Admiralty, and a large number of naval officers and courtiers. She was then known as the largest yacht ever built and was as richly decorated as a Carolian line-of-battle ship. She was armed with a battery of 8 brass swivels, and there is a popular legend to the effect that in later years George IV got so fond of telling wonderful stories about how he had beaten off French privateers that he grew to believe them himself.

Early Yacht Racing.

After Stuart days yacht racing seems to have been confined to pilots, fishermen and watermen, the yacht owners not considering it to be a gentlemanly sport and most of them limiting their sailing work to cruises or dignified reviews. They were willing enough to subscribe to the prizes and sometimes even to let their yachts be raced, but the Corinthians of the period all appear to have been landsmen.

The Foundation of the Royal Yacht Squadron.

The advantages of the Solent for yachting purposes were obvious, and, beginning with races for fishermen and local watermen, it began to be realised gradually that there was a lot in yacht racing as a sport. The waters were also sheltered enough to be useful for cruising, while yachtsmen were recognised there, and a harmless individual enjoying an afternoon's sail was not likely to be fired upon by revenue cutters in mistake for a smuggler. On top of the sailing came entertainments on shore among the yachtsmen, until, on June 1st, 1815, a party of yacht owners held a meeting at the Thatched House tavern in St. James's Street, London, and decided to form a regular yacht club under the title of The Yacht Club. The qualification was the ownership of a yacht at least 10 tons register, while the entrance fee was two guineas. The ensign was a white flag with the Union Jack, probably the beginning of the Royal Yacht Squadron's present privilege of flying the white ensign. Starting with forty yachtsmen in this manner, the club rapidly grew, but the manner in which it became the Royal Yacht Squadron and the admitted head of all such organisations must be told in another period.

A Naval Yachtswoman.

All through this period every encouragement was given to boat sailing in the Navy, and there were some very keen men in the fleet at that time. There also appear to have been some very keen women, for Mrs. Calder, the wife of the officer who was later to make his name as an admiral, was reported in 1790 to be very fond of boat sailing in Spithead, using a large service cutter and clapping on sail to the utmost extent possible. She would run her boat gunwale under, and it was not

tactful for anybody, particular junior officers, to raise any objection, although few of her guests seem to have enjoyed it as much as she did.

Patrick Miller's Steamer.

The first successful British attempt to apply the steam engine to a paddle-ship was made by an Edinburgh banker named Patrick Miller. In 1787, he built a double-hulled vessel 60 feet long with two paddles working in the waterway between the two hulls and moved by men working a geared capstan. The results were discouraging, for, try as they would, the men could not equal the efforts of four good rowers. It was the tutor of young Miller, a Mr. Taylor, who first suggested putting a steam engine in place of the four men, and accordingly a similar but smaller boat was built on the lake of Mr. Miller's estate, and by means of a one-horse power engine made by Symington, she attained a speed of five miles an hour. So successful was the experiment that Mr. Miller ordered a larger boat and a larger engine to be built by the Carron Company, but after 1789 he tired of this particular hobby and dropped it in favour of something else.

The "Charlotte Dundas."

Meanwhile Lord Dundas had heard of the success which Symington had contrived with Patrick Miller, and although he did nothing at the time, he bore it in mind. In 1801 he engaged Symington to carry out a series of experiments on the Forth and Clyde Canal. The result was that the *Charlotte Dundas* was built, having a double-acting Watt engine, with a horizontal cylinder 22 inches in diameter, driving a stern wheel. The boat and engine took a considerable time to build and it was not until March, 1803, that she proved her worth by towing two 70-ton barges at about three knots.

The fame of the *Charlotte Dundas* would appear to have sealed Symington's success, for the Duke of Bridgwater ordered eight steam tugs of similar design to work on the Bridgwater Canal. No sooner was the work started, however, than the Duke died and his executors declined to carry on the idea, while the governing authorities of the Forth and Clyde Canal drove the little *Charlotte Dundas* off the waterway on the ground that she was damaging the banks.

John Fitch.

Meanwhile, General Washington in the United States was being approached by steamship inventors. The principal of these was John Fitch, who experimented with a paddle formed by a number of flat boards attached to an endless chain, and then with paddles held in frames and operated by cranks. The first boat on this principle was built in 1786 and she did quite well on the Delaware, being followed in the next year by a larger boat, having six paddles on each side. Both these boats, however, were exceedingly small, but in 1790 Fitch devised a really practical steamer with a stern wheel which contrived eight miles an hour on the river at Philadelphia, and which carried passengers for many years afterwards. Unfortunately she was not a commercial

success, principally on account of the extravagance in fuel and the weight of the machinery. Fitch died in poverty, and other inventors improved on his ideas.

Jet Propulsion.

All through the history of steam navigation efforts have been made from time to time to introduce jet propulsion instead of a screw or paddle. The credit for inventing this system appears to go to John Rumsey, of Virginia, who tried the scheme as early as 1775. In the United States, however, he was obstructed by the patents which Fitch had contrived to get, so that he crossed the Atlantic to England, and, by the interest of a wealthy American and the technical knowledge of James Watt, he contrived a boat which made well over four knots on the Thames in 1793. He died before the experiments were completed, and following builders were more inclined to favour paddles.

Robert Fulton.

The greatest of the steamboat inventors, however, was Robert Fulton, a young American artist who had come to England to study art only. He was intensely interested in the steamship experiments and carried out some himself. His first idea was to have a paddle over the stern and to give it a circular motion, very much like that used by North Sea fishermen in sculling, but this was found to be impracticable, and he then tried to improve on John Fitch's paddle idea. From this he soon worked up to what was practically the modern paddle wheel, and when he had completed his researches and had brought his invention to a fair degree of perfection he wrote to Lord Stanhope, who had already been experimenting with an idea that was based on the foot of a duck. In 1795 he got into touch with Messrs. Boulton and Watt. This correspondence, however, does not seem to have got beyond the estimate stage, and Fulton went across to France to try his luck with various ideas. While there he experimented with a screw propeller that was an adaptation of the one patented by Bramah in 1785, but he did not get very far with this and soon returned to the paddle.

Fulton and Livingston.

In 1802 Fulton had his opportunity, with an introduction to Chancellor Livingston, the American Ambassador in France, who had the money requisite for the experiments and who saw the virtue of the youngster's ideas. Accordingly, an experimental steamer was built, only to sink. Undeterred, they had a second one built and this proved a great success. Fulton then wrote to Boulton and Watt to send him a 24-horse-power engine out to the United States, learned all he could about steam propulsion in England and went up to Scotland to examine the *Charlotte Dundas*. With this information he went across to the United States to link up the ideas of all his predecessors and to make something really practicable out of it. It may be noted that Fulton himself never claimed to be a great original inventor.

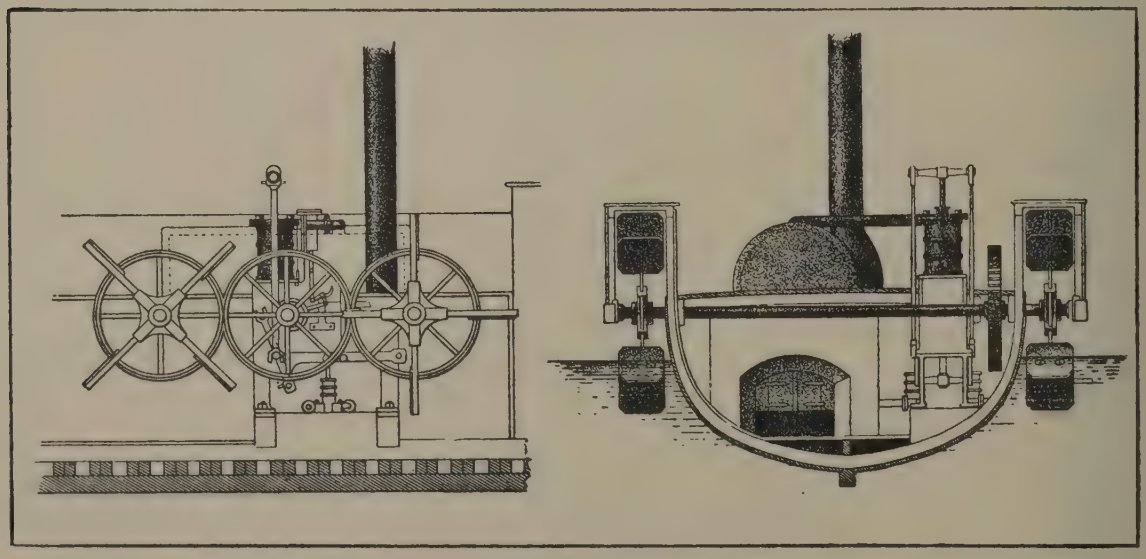
The "Clermont."

The boat with which Fulton's name is always connected, the *Cler-*

mont or the *Katherine of Clermont*, was built in 1807, an ungainly vessel 166 feet by 18 which in August of that year contrived to maintain an average speed of five knots from New York to Albany. Fulton and Livingston had obtained the monopoly of steam navigation on the Hudson and near-by waters, and they took full advantage of it. First of all the *Clermont* was altered until she was an infinite improvement on her original self; then ship after ship came out, each one a slight improvement on the last, until, before the end of the period, to travel by steamer on the Hudson river was quite the normal thing and no longer in the nature of a rash experiment that called for touching farewells to the traveller's wife and family.

Bell's "Comet."

A vessel that deserves to live alongside Fulton's *Clermont* is the *Comet*, which Thomas Bell of Helensburgh built on the Clyde in 1812. She had a burthen of 30 tons and was propelled by a 3-h.p. engine through side wheels. She was the first passenger steamer to ply in British waters, and was intended first of all to run between Glasgow and Greenock, and afterwards to carry passengers down to Bell's hotel at Helensburgh.



ENGINE AND PADDLE WHEELS OF BELL'S "COMET," 1812. FROM A DRAWING BY H. B. BARLOW.

The "Elizabeth."

The second steamer to be built on the Clyde, in direct rivalry to the *Comet*, was the *Elizabeth*, and it has often been claimed for her that she was the first steamboat to pay in a commercial sense. She was very much more heavily engined than her predecessor, and this was perhaps the secret of her success, for she ran regularly between Glasgow and Greenock, maintaining her time-table and often attaining as much as nine miles an hour. Naturally there was great rivalry between this ship and the coaches, the time occupied being generally about the same,

VOLUNTEERS.

G. R. III.

God Save the King.

LET us, who are Engliſhmen, protect and defend our good KING and COUNTRY againſt the Attempts of all *Republicans* and *Levellers*, and againſt the Deſigns of our NATURAL ENEMIES, who intend in this Year to invade OLD ENGLAND, *our happy Country*, to murder our gracious KING as they have done *their own*; to make WHORES of our *Wives* and *Daughters*; to rob us of our Property, and teach us nothing but the *damn'd Art of murdering one another.*

ROYAL TARS
Of OLD ENGLAND,

If you love your COUNTRY, and your LIBERTY, now is the Time to ſhew your Love.

REPAIR,

All who have good Hearts, who love their KING, their COUNTRY, and RELIGION, who hate the FRENCH, and damn the POPE,

TO

Lieut. W. J. Stephens,

At his Rendezvous, SHOREHAM,

Where they will be allowed to Enter for any SHIP of WAR,

AND THE FOLLOWING

BOUNTIES will be given by his MAJESTY, in Addition to Two Months Advance.

To Able Seamen, - - -	*Five Pounds.*
To Ordinary Seamen, - - -	*Two Pounds Ten Shillings.*
To Landmen, - - -	*Thirty Shillings.*

Conduct-Money paid to go by Land, and their Cheſts and Bedding ſent Carriage free.

Thoſe Men who have ſerved as PETTY-OFFICERS, and thoſe who are otherwiſe qualified, will be recommended accordingly.

LEWES: PRINTED BY W. AND A. LEE.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

RECRUITING POSTER ISSUED ABOUT THE TIME OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE SAILOR'S FAREWELL

Pictures and prints like the above were very popular in England at the time of the Revolutionary Wars.

GREATHEAD'S LIFEBOAT GOING OUT TO A SHIP IN DISTRESS.
(From a Print published in 1803.)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

DIVERS AT WORK ON THE WRECK OF THE EAST INDIAMAN, "EARL OF ABERGAVENNY," SEPTEMBER, 1805.

The relation of Greathead's earliest lifeboat to the Institution boats of to-day may clearly be seen in the first of these illustrations. The salvage of cargo in ten fathoms of water by means of divers, as depicted in the other print, was regarded as a wonderful feat at the time.

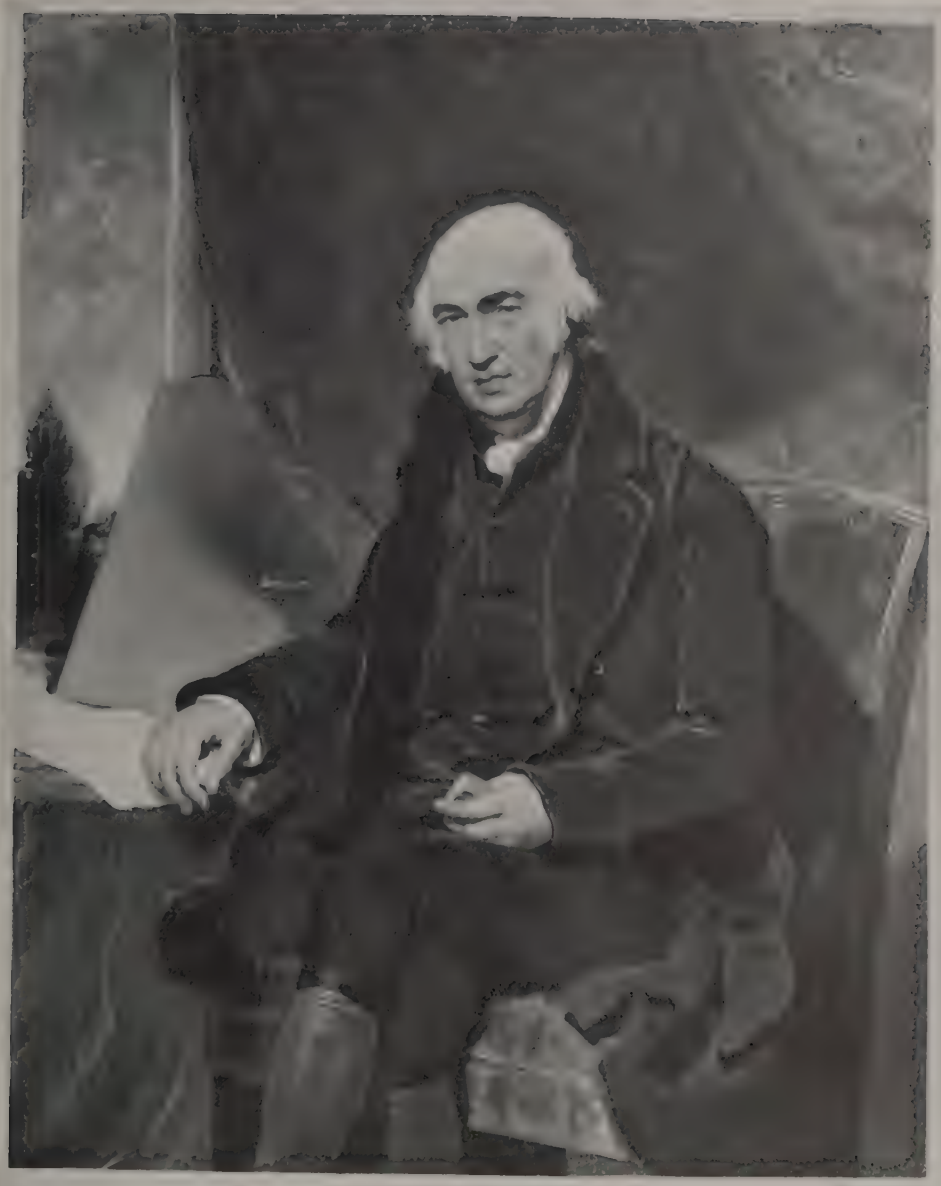
THE " ST GEORGE "

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE " VIGILANT "

EARLY XIXTH CENTURY YACHTS
(FROM AQUATINTS IN COLOUR BY MERKE AFTER B. CHURCH, 181-)

The influence of naval ideas on the larger craft may easily be seen in these two yachts.



(*Macpherson Collection*)

JAMES WATT (1736-1819)
(From a Proof Mezzotint by C. Turner after Sir T. Lawrence, 1815)

It was the genius of James Watt which did more to bring the practical steamboat into being than anything else.

THE " PERSEVERANCE," 1787

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE " CHARLOTTE DUNDAS," 1802
(From a Lithograph published in 1848)

The Perseverance, *a curious steamboat with six paddles a side, was John Fitch's first experiment. The* Charlotte Dundas *was the first really practical steamboat but was hounded off British waters.*

THE "CLERMONT," BUILT BY FULTON IN 1807
(From a Lithograph published in 1830)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE "PARAGON." A LATER STEAMER DESIGNED BY FULTON
(From a Lithograph copied from an Original Drawing by Him)

The Clermont *was the first practical steamer in American waters, and the* Paragon *was a considerable improvement.*

(Macpherson Collection)

LAUNCH OF THE U.S. STEAM FRIGATE " FULTON THE FIRST " AT NEW YORK, 29 OCTOBER, 1814
(From a Line Engraving after a Drawing by Morgan, published 1815)

According to Fulton's plans this remarkable floating battery was to have been called DEMOLOGOS, but she was renamed in his honour after his death.

but the price of the passage by water being only four shillings and half a crown against twelve shillings and eight shillings on the coach. She was followed immediately by the *Clyde* and then in 1813 by the *Glasgow* and in 1815 by the *Dumbarton Castle* which ran to Rothesay. By the time this steamer was running in 1815 there were ten passenger steamers on the Clyde, while the other British rivers were beginning to get their little steamships.

The First War Steamer.

The first steam man-of-war in the world was designed by Robert Fulton for the U.S. Navy Department and was named by him *Demologos*. She was really a mobile floating battery, having dimensions 150 x 56 x 20 feet draught and had two complete hulls, with a 16-foot paddle running in the waterway between them. Her bulwarks were solid hardwood no less than four feet ten inches thick and she mounted two 100-pounder guns below the waterline—needless to say they were an utter failure—and twenty 32-pounders on the broadside. Fulton died before she was completed in 1815, when the U.S. Navy Department renamed her *Fulton the First* in his honour. Her speed was very disappointing and she seldom put to sea, but she acted as a guard ship to New York and receiving ship at Brooklyn until June, 1829, when she was destroyed by a magazine explosion which is always supposed to have been the action of a mutinous seaman. It was many years before the experiment was repeated.

The First Steamers on the Thames.

The earliest steamers on the Thames came from Glasgow. The first one was named the *Thames*, but there was some question as to whether her original name was *Argyll* or *Margary*, the latter being the more generally accepted. She was built on the Clyde at Dumbarton and was taken through the Forth and Clyde Canal to the east coast of Scotland, whence she coasted down to London. At the mouth of the Thames a British Fleet was lying and she caused something of a panic in it, the first idea being that she was a fireship. She was 56 feet long by 19 feet wide over the paddles. She ran between London and Margate, the paddles being set in a peculiar way at an angle of forty-five degrees. Her engine was only fourteen horse-power so that in a good breeze the sailing hoys which were her great rivals sailed round her without any difficulty. In calm weather, of course, she had her day. After running for some time on the Thames she made quite ambitious voyages, running to Ireland and round Land's End in stormy weather.

CHAPTER X—EXPLORATION UNDER DIFFICULTIES

The Disaster to La Pérouse.

Immediately after the Peace of Versailles the French sent out an expedition under Jean François Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse, to discover the North-West passage from the Pacific side in the same way that Cook had attempted on his last voyage. He sailed from Brest with

two ships, his flagship *La Boussole* and a second ship under De Langle called *L'Astrolabe*. His secondary instructions were to explore the North-West coast of America, the North-East coast of Asia, the Oriental countries and Australia. The attention of the French Government was being turned to trade and he had orders to investigate the possibilities of whaling in the South Seas and fur trapping in North America. He surveyed the Alaskan coast and was then driven by bad weather into the Pacific, going down past the Hawaiian Islands, discovering Necker Island, and then crossing to Macao. He then sailed through the Philippines and up to Japan, Korea and the Manchurian coast, where he did some particularly valuable work. In August, 1787, he discovered the straits between Saghalien and the northernmost islands of Japan, which still bear his name, and then went on to Petropavlovsk, where the authorities had already received instructions from the Empress Catherine to receive him kindly. From there he sent his records up to date to Paris overland and later sailed for the Samoan group. Here a number of his men were murdered. He then went on to the Australian coast, where he was well received by the English pioneers and wrote his last report to the French Government on February 7th, 1788. He sailed into the Pacific and nothing more was heard of him, in spite of the expedition under D'Entrecasteaux which went out to search for him, until 1826 when the wrecks of what must certainly have been his ships were discovered in the New Hebrides.

D'Entrecasteaux.

While the fate of La Pérouse was still uncertain the French Government ordered D'Entrecasteaux to search for him and to complete his discoveries. Joseph Antoine Bruni D'Entrecasteaux was born at Aix in 1739 and in 1778 had command of a 32-gun frigate. In 1785 he was given the command of the French naval forces in India and went to China by a new route, later being appointed Governor of the Isle of France, now Mauritius. He was ordered on his voyage in September, 1791, to follow the track of La Pérouse after his departure from Botany Bay. He did not discover any sign of the missing explorer, but he went up the West coast of New Calendonia and Bougainville and examined the North part of the Louisiade Archipelago. Afterwards he completed the survey of the south side of Van Diemen's Land and neighbouring waters, finally dying of scurvy on board his ship off Java in July, 1793. For the whole of his expedition he was troubled with internal friction, centred round the question as to which flag his ship should fly, the White Flag of the old French Navy or the Tricolour of the Republic.

The First Settlement in Australia.

Prior to the War of American Independence it had been customary for the British Government to transport its convicted felons to the plantations of America, both on the mainland and in the West Indian islands. Naturally enough, the independence of the United States made this impossible, and an attempt to found a convict colony on the

coast of Africa ended in failure. Viscount Sydney, who at that time was the Colonial Secretary, therefore determined to plant a convict colony in New South Wales, and in May, 1787, the first convict convoy sailed. The flagship was the 20-gun sloop *Sirius*, and as whipper-in she had the armed tender *Supply*. The convict transports consisted of the *Alexander, Scarborough, Lady Penrhyn, Prince of Wales, Friendship* and *Charlotte*. There were also three store ships, the *Golden Grove, Fishburn* and *Borradale*. None of the convict ships was big, the largest was of 470 tons burthen, but into them were crowded 564 male and 192 female felons, with 10 officers and 168 men of the Royal Marines to guard them. The convicts had 13 children with them, while 40 wives of marines went too and 5 doctors. The expedition was under Captain Arthur Phillip, who had with him a commission as Governor of New South Wales.

Botany Bay.

Captain Cook's botanists had brought home such a glowing account of Botany Bay that the fleet had been ordered to establish itself there, but Captain Phillip was a practical man and he soon saw that it would be absolutely hopeless to attempt to found a colony in that district. The bay was shallow, there was no water, the shore was exposed, and everything was against the settlement, so that he very wisely determined to search the coast for a better position. He left the fleet anchored in the bay and proceeded on a tour of investigation with three boats. Before long he came across the inlet which Cook had named Port Jackson and had described as being only fit for boats. Phillip was not quite so ready to take things for granted, and accordingly went in himself to investigate, to discover one of the finest natural harbours in the world, Sydney. Here everything was in favour of the settlement, which was named after the Colonial Secretary.

The Settlement at Sydney.

It is a curious thing that, although the continent of Australia is now one of the greatest wheat-producing areas in the world, experience has always shown that the neighbourhood of Sydney is not suitable for this grain. Things soon got very bad for the settlers, therefore, and the second batch of transportees came out when rations were very short for the pioneers. A certain amount of relief was found from South Africa and Batavia, but not enough, and the detachment would certainly have starved had it not been that a smaller party which had been sent to Norfolk Island had succeeded in raising a magnificent crop. Unfortunately, in attempting to reach it the *Sirius* was wrecked, so that things were still very bad for the colony when three further store ships arrived from home.

The Early Transportees.

It has often been thought that life in the new colonies was comparatively easy for the transportees, but, as a matter of fact, most of them preferred prison in England. The conditions on the voyage out were terrible, for the Government paid as little as they possibly could

for the convict ships, and, naturally enough, the tonnage that they obtained was valued accordingly. Of one batch of 1,700 sent out from England 200 died on the voyage, while a large proportion of the remainder were in a very sad condition when they arrived, so that a number of them died almost as soon as they landed. The work ashore was arduous and ceaseless and a large number did their best to escape. Most of these refugees perished in the bush, for it was generally believed in the convict settlement that there was an overland route to China, but some of the better educated succeeded in stealing or building boats for themselves and reaching the Dutch colonies, when they were generally promptly sent back to Sydney. Had it not been that Captain Phillip was a magnificent man in every way, the colony would have perished almost before it was started, but his strength could not withstand the strain that was put upon it, and in 1792 he was forced to retire and return to England, where luckily his health recovered and he lived to a ripe old age. Australia is very properly grateful to her pioneer Governor.

Free Settlers in Australia.

Captain Phillip was succeeded by another naval officer, who had come out in command of the *Sirius* with the first expedition. Captain Hunter was not satisfied to keep Australia as a convict settlement and nothing more, and persuaded a number of free settlers to come out with him, who discovered some magnificently fertile land on the banks of the Hawkesbury River. Before long both crops and cattle were prospering, while the indefatigable Captain Hunter had turned his attention to the mineral possibilities of the colony as well. Coal had been discovered in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, New South Wales, and was being worked by convict labour, while the early detachment of Royal Marines were to a certain extent relieved of their duties by the raising of a local corps. Captain Hunter remained until 1800, and his régime also left a very distinct mark on the history of the colony. The felons were a tough crowd to deal with, and the New South Wales Corps was recruited with this consideration in view.

The Exploration of the Victorian Coast.

Captain Cook had made his landfall in Australia at Point Hicks, on the Victorian coast, but instead of working round it he had turned north, and it was not until 1798 that George Bass was sent out with six men in an open whaler. The hardships which this little party had to undergo in exploring the coast must have been appalling, but they stuck to their work and certainly did some very valuable surveying.

The " Lady Nelson."

In 1801 Lieutenant Grant was sent out in the little hired vessel *Lady Nelson* to explore the coast and to complete the work that had been begun by Bass. He worked well, and not only did useful surveying along the coast, but also made exceedingly useful observations for the subsequent colonisation and development of the country. His ship was small and ill-found, the only agricultural implement on board being a small coal shovel, but with this he contrived to plant wheat, and its

(*Macpherson Collection*)

A VIEW OF SYDNEY COVE, NEW SOUTH WALES, ABOUT 1803.
(From an Aquatint in Colours, 15¾ x 24 ins., Engraved by F. Jukes after a Picture Painted at the Colony; published

(Macpherson Collection)

WRECK OF A BOATING PARTY FROM LA PÊROUSE'S EXPEDITION OFF CALIFORNIA

This expedition was a series of great and small disasters from beginning to end.

BOATS APPROACHING A WHALE

(*Macpherson Collection*)

A SHIP'S BOAT ATTACKING A WHALE

SHOOTING THE HARPOON AT A WHALE

(Macpherson Collection)

A WHALE BROUGHT ALONGSIDE A SHIP

Of these four whaling prints—all of them colour aquatints by Dubourg after Clark, published in 1813*—the two on this page are more particularly interesting as showing the kind of apparatus employed.*

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE GREENLAND WHALE FISHERY
(From an Aquatint by and after Dodd, published 1789)

At the date of this incident the whalers were among the most prosperous ships under the British flag.

progress in six months showed what could be done with such soil. Grant was succeeded by Captain Murray, who carried on the work and who was ably assisted by his lieutenant, Bowen. Together they discovered and explored Port Phillip, which was originally called Port King. They had very little chance of making the necessary maritime surveys, but Flinders, who followed them and whose name is still honoured in Australia, did better.

Convict Settlement in Port Phillip.

The convict settlement in New South Wales already had as many settlers as it could well accommodate, so that in 1803 H.M.S. *Calcutta* convoyed the transport *Ocean*, with 299 convicts under Colonel Collins, who had already had experience in New South Wales, to the Victorian coast. He decided to settle at Port Phillip. After a few months, however, this settlement was given up as being disadvantageous, and the convicts were moved further along the coast. Few people imagined the importance to which Port Phillip would later grow, yet they were within a few miles of everything that they could desire.

Van Diemen's Land.

Van Diemen's Land, or, as it is now called, Tasmania, was discovered by the Dutch in 1642. But they made no attempt to colonise, nor did the French 130 years later. Captain Cook visited the island, as did Bligh in the *Bounty*. The French came in 1792 and did some very valuable surveying and exploratory work; but it was not until six years later that H.M.S. *Norfolk* proved that it was an island. The French still exhibited a good deal of interest in it, and in 1803 Lieutenant Bowen was sent with some soldiers and convicts to take possession of the island for the British, settling on the river Derwent, close to the site of the present city of Hobart. Here he was joined by Colonel Collins with his unfortunate penal colony from Victoria, the two settlements remaining entirely independent of one another until they received peremptory orders to co-operate. For a good many years afterwards the settlers in Van Diemen's Land had trouble with the natives, trouble that was very largely due to an unfortunate beginning, when the British commander appears to have lost his head.

CHAPTER XI—SEABORNE TRADE

The Indian Tea Trade.

In 1784 a very great improvement began in the Indian tea trade owing to Pitt reducing the import duty from 120 to 12½ per cent. *ad valorem*. In the following years the importation of tea rose in an extraordinary manner, and at the same time the smuggling that had done so much harm to the revenues of the country dropped immediately. The East Indiamen always had a bad reputation for smuggling, and in the matter of the tea trade they certainly seem to have deserved it. In a very short time the amount of tea imported by the East India Company

alone was trebled, and in 1789 an outward business in tin was established, the barter being a far more satisfactory method than the former export of bullion.

The Foreign East India Companies.

By the year 1789 the foreign rivals of the East India Company were in sorry plight. The Portuguese, instead of monopolising the Eastern trade as they had done at one time, only had three ships at Canton, the Dutch Company five, the American fifteen, the French and Danish East India Companies one apiece, and the British forty, while as many more were on the India run. This latter trade was later to be increased by Indian-built ships—" country ships " as they were called—for in 1795, owing to the depredations of the French corsairs, the objections of British shipbuilders were overridden and these ships were allowed to take cargoes to London. This intrusion was, however, very much resented by vested interests, and they took the first opportunity to curtail their activities. By that time, however, the " country ships " had established friends among the English traders, with the result that they objected just as strongly to the restoration of the full monopoly, and, after steady fighting, concession after concession was made. The fight for a measure of free trade was a long and bitter one, the principal encounter being in the year 1796, when the Company's charter was renewed until 1814. By this all British subjects, no matter where they resided, were to be allowed to export to India any article that had been produced or manufactured in the country where they dwelt, with the exception of military and naval stores, and certain other commodities which were reserved for the Company. However, the directors were strong enough to get a qualifying clause put in, whereby these exporters could only have their goods carried by ships belonging to or chartered by the Company, with certain regulations as to the rate of freight to be paid. The contest on the subject of monopoly or free trade lasted practically to the end of the Napoleonic wars, and was certainly a godsend to the lawyers.

England and the United States.

Towards the end of the century the British authorities made genuine efforts to reconcile public opinion in the United States and to put trade between the two countries on a friendly footing. All the Customs Acts that were passed during this period give preferential treatment to American grown tobacco, while in August, 1790, it was decreed that any subject of the United States might settle in Bermuda, Nova Scotia, or British Canada and might carry his goods and negroes there within certain limits, free of duty, provided that he used a British ship. The limits laid down were fifty pounds worth of goods for each white man and two pounds worth for each negro.

British Commercial Panic.

Although it had been obvious for some time past that war was inevitable, immediately it broke out there was a very serious commercial panic in Britain. Some of the biggest commercial houses, including many shipping companies which were anticipating the first shock, gave

way under the strain until Parliament authorised the issue of five million pounds on loan to the merchants of the principal shipping ports against property worth twice as much as the amount borrowed. Perhaps it was this provision of security, perhaps it was the support given by the Government to the mercantile community that gave confidence, but the entire amount demanded of the Government was well under four million pounds, and, instead of disappearing, British shipping began to prosper exceedingly. There was still a great dread of famine, and, to get ahead of our story a little, the winter of 1794-5 was so unfortunately early and severe that the price of wheat rose from £2 15s. 7d. a quarter in the New Year to £3 17s. 2d. at the beginning of July and £5 8s. 4d. a month later. This was a very serious state of affairs for the country, and to check it all neutral vessels carrying corn to France were captured by British frigates and brought into port, the owners, however, being paid a very generous price for their merchandise and not losing in any way.

British Cargoes in Neutral Ships.

The question of belligerent cargoes in neutral ships has always been a very thorny one, the declaration made by Catherine of Russia in 1780 only going to complicate it. In May, 1793, the French National Convention took up the stand that British property in neutral vessels was to be captured by their men-of-war and privateers, with the exception that American ships would be respected no matter what they were carrying. This attitude did not last very long, however, and soon the Convention authorised French ships to seize American vessels just as much as any others. From time to time they were treated with special favour for political purposes, but the favour never lasted very long, and when the United States and Britain concluded a trade treaty the French were particularly anxious to capture American ships. The French described this agreement as perfidious condescension to the tyrannical and homicidal rage of the English Government, which plunged the people of France into the horrors of famine. The French were indeed so indignant at the agreement that war between France and America very nearly broke out, and the ill feeling which eventually resulted in an open breach was simmering very near the surface for years. On January 18th, 1798, the French Directory issued a still more drastic decree which read : " That all ships having for their cargoes, in whole or in part, any English merchandise shall be held good prize, whoever is the proprietor of such merchandise, which should be held contraband from the single circumstances of its coming from England, or from any of its foreign settlements. That the harbours of France shall be shut against all ships having touch with England except in cases of distress, and that neutral sailors found on board English vessels shall be put to death."

Enforcement of the Declaration of Russia.

In 1796 the famous " Declaration to the Courts of St. James, Versailles and Madrid " which the Empress Catherine of Russia had issued

in 1780 was actively enforced. The original document asserted that the Empress fully manifested her sentiment of moderation and, further, that she supported against the Ottoman Empire the rights of neutrality and the liberty of universal commerce. At the same time she expressed surprise that her subjects were not permitted decently to enjoy the fruits of their industry and the rights belonging to a neutral nation, and she set out in full what she considered to be these rights. Firstly, that all neutral ships might freely navigate from port to port and along the coasts of the nations at war. Secondly, that effects belonging to the subjects of the said warring powers should be free in all neutral vessels not carrying goods which were declared contraband of war. Thirdly, that certain specified merchandise should be free; and fourthly, that a blockaded port means one which is so well watched by the ships of the attacking power that it is dangerous either to enter or to leave it. Denmark and Sweden agreed with these doctrines, and naturally the powers that were being blockaded by the British fleet saw great virtue in them. They were not enforced before the end of the War of American Independence, but in 1796 the Northern Confederacy decided to put them into operation. The United States were handicapped more than anybody else and immediately agreed to Russia's doctrines, asserting the slogan that the flag covers the merchandise. According to their theory, a neutral flag sheltered ships from search no matter what they were carrying, but they issued a very narrow list of items which they were willing to regard as contraband of war and which it was against the dignity of a neutral to carry. They did not, however, put forward any practical scheme whereby their nationals could be prevented from carrying such contraband, and their protestations were not listened to very seriously.

The Shipowners' War-Time Profits.

As the war went on there was less and less profit in the ship-owning industry, while the neutral powers who were able more or less to evade the blockade made bigger and bigger profits. For one thing, Britain put a very heavy tax on shipbuilding materials, whereas the Baltic Powers were only too glad to supply them to neutrals at a commercial price. All dues rose to an alarming extent, while the activities of the Press Gang also increased the difficulties of the shipowner. The authorities realised the difficult position of merchant shipping and assisted in various ways, particularly in the development of the colonial trade. One good thing about the very difficult period through which British shipping passed at this time was that it began to make people realise that the Navigation Laws, excellent as they had been when they were first passed, were hopelessly obsolete and were indeed hampering British commerce considerably. It was a long time before this understanding went so far as to cause the repeal of the laws, but it was a big step in the right direction.

The Development of Canada.

When the authorities realised that British shipping was urgently in need of practical help, they turned to the colonies. The West Indian

(*Macpherson Collection*)

BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE, LONDON
(One of a Pair of Aquatints in Colour by T. Sutherland)

Although the coast buttresses of London Bridge practically confined the shipping of the port to the Pool and lower reaches, there was even in this period a certain amount of barge profit above bridges.

INDIA HOUSE, THE SALE ROOM

BILLINGSGATE MARKET
(From Aquatints in Colour after Rowlandson and Pugin, 1808)
(Lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

The discharge of each cargo was a signal for great excitement in the sale room at the India House. There are many references to Billingsgate at this period in contemporary literature.

THE LONG ROOM AT THE CUSTOM HOUSE
(From an Aquatint in Colours after Rowlandson and Pugin, 1808)

TRINITY HOUSE, TOWER HILL, LONDON, ABOUT 1795
(From a Contemporary Drawing)
(Lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

The Long Room in the London Custom House has given its name to similar rooms all over the country.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

WATERMEN AT WAPPING OLD STAIRS
(From a Colour Etching after Rowlandson, 1807)

The manner in which the licensed watermen of the London River obtained their custom was a constant source of complaint but little was done to remedy matters.

EXHIBITION OF DANIEL'S LIFE PRESERVER, JULY, 1806
(From a Contemporary Print)

It was an age of invention and many attempts were made to ensure the safety of life at sea.

MARGATE—THE ARRIVAL OF THE HOY

(Plate [illegible] Engraved by Stadler after P. J. De Loutherbourg, R.A., published 1801)

Before the general introduction of steamships the passenger trade to the coast towns was carried on by means of hoys, whose arrival was one of the great excitements of the day.

VIEW OF LIVERPOOL FROM SEACOMBE COMMON

From an Aquatint in Colours, 16¾ x 32½ ins., by W. Bennett after H. James, begun 1810, published 1817)

During this period Liverpool was rising rapidly but few would have foretold the ultimate development of the port.

(*Macpherson Collection*)

BELFAST

(From an Aquatint in Colours, 18 x 22⅛ ins., by F. Jukes after T. Thompson, published 1805

The view at Belfast is from the banks of the Lagan.

trade received a good deal of attention, as did also the Canadian. Emigration to Canada was encouraged, in spite of the need that the home country had for man-power. Naval stores were becoming very difficult to procure from the Baltic, while at the same time the discovery was made that Canadian pine was far better than any Baltic wood for making big spars. Hemp, pitch, tar, resin and turpentine were produced in great quantities in Canada, so that really the decision of the Baltic Powers to go against Britain at sea was a blessing in disguise and led to the development of our most important colony.

The Case of the "Cincinnatus."

The most extraordinary case resulting from French indignation at the trade treaty concluded in 1796 between Britain and the United States was the famous case of the *Cincinnatus*. She was a Baltimore ship of just over 200 tons, commanded by Captain Martin, and bound from Baltimore to London. She was boarded by a French naval brig, who approached under British colours. Captain Martin and several of his crew were made to go on board their captor, when his papers were examined. Disappointed in not finding that the cargo was English property, the captain attempted to bribe Martin into a declaration to that effect, promising that, if he would admit it, he would be paid his full freight and should have a present of £1,000 for himself. Martin stoutly declined to enter into any such arrangement, whereupon he was submitted to the torture of the thumbscrew for nearly four hours, until the approach of a strange sail alarmed his captors and gave him his liberty. When he was found by a British man-of-war his thumbs were still badly mangled, and from his own deposition and the other evidence of the case there is no doubt of its authenticity.

The Entry of Aliens.

When the French Revolution broke out and England became embroiled in a naval war with France a law was passed to regulate the entry of aliens. Shipmasters were made to furnish the Customs with full particulars of all aliens that they brought into the port and it was upon the Customs authorities that the duty of examining their status and granting them a certificate devolved. All arms, etc., brought in by an alien were liable to be detained and the King had the right to issue an Order in Council which prevented all aliens but merchants landing in the country. Undesirable aliens were liable to be deported and if they returned they could expect a heavy sentence of transportation to the plantations. If, at the end of his sentence, he made another attempt to enter the country he was liable to be hanged. At the same time a law was passed against trading with the enemy, and any Briton who supplied or assisted in supplying France with arms, ammunition, naval stores, iron, lead, coal or copper, corn or victuals, bank notes or gold, without a Royal Licence was liable to be deemed a traitor and to be hanged. This should have made smuggling difficult, for practically all the smuggled goods had to be paid for with gold, but it does not seem to have been successfully enforced against the smugglers.

The Licence System.

By his decrees Napoleon had attempted to put a total stop to British trade, but only a few months after the publication of the Berlin Decree he realised that he had overreached himself, and accordingly evaded them himself in the most barefaced manner. His wars were costing more than he could afford, so that he struck on the idea of granting licences to import British colonial produce and manufactures into France and the territories that he had conquered, naturally charging an exorbitant price for the permission. There was supposed to be an obligation to export French or continental produce to an equal amount, but this obligation was honoured far more in the breach than in the observance. Although they did not adopt the scheme in its entirety, the British were not long in following the example and also granted licences, so that really both sides were carrying on an extensive system of trading with the enemy, under the blessing of their respective Governments. One result was that licences and permits were forged in thousands and, first in Holland and then in England, businesses began to spring up with no other object than the forging of these licences, advertising quite openly what they were doing.

The Convoy Duty.

The activities of Napoleon's privateers and cruisers soon made it necessary to improve the convoy system and in 1798 the convoy duty was imposed. No ship was to leave British shores without a convoy or she was liable to a fine of a thousand pounds. This was very necessary, as most shipmasters preferred to run the risk of the enemy rather than put up with all the inconveniences and delays of the convoy, for naturally their speed was regulated by that of the slowest ship and some of the ships in those days were very slow indeed. If a ship, having left England in a convoy according to law, wilfully parted company with it, her captain's share of the insurance was automatically cancelled. The only people exempt from the convoy regulations were coasting vessels, ships in the Irish trade, ships duly licensed as privateers by the Admiralty, ships so small that they were not registered, and the ships of the East India and Hudson Bay Companies, practically all of which had privateers' commissions. To pay for the convoys extra duties were levied on certain imports and exports and a variable tonnage duty was paid by all trading ships, starting with sixpence a ton for those which traded no further afield than Ireland and running up to three shillings on ships that went as far as the East Indies.

Defrauding the Underwriters.

During a Parliamentary commission of enquiry into marine insurance in 1809 some very interesting instances were given of the manner in which marine underwriters could be, and were, defrauded. Needless to say, the slow communications of those days helped the swindler immensely. Most of the instances cited were very palpable cases of scuttling, without the least skill and with remarkably little attempt at concealment. One such was a ship which was supposed to have loaded

with silk at Leghorn and sailed one morning in beautifully fine weather, the crew rowing ashore the same evening with the story that their ship had foundered. As a matter of fact, they had not taken the least precaution to prevent the underwriters getting the information that the ship had been loaded with sulphur and not with silk at all. When the underwriters discovered a particularly flagrant case of this sort and prosecuted the captain was generally hanged if found guilty; but naturally the amount of fraud that went on caused the rates quoted to honest shipowners to be unhappily high. In other cases the sentences appear to have been very lenient for the offence.

The Case of the "Adventure" Brig.

One of the most celebrated cases of defrauding the underwriters in these days was that of the *Adventure* brig, under Captain Codling. She sailed from the Thames in July, 1802, bound for Gibraltar and Leghorn with a general cargo, which was insured at Lloyd's for between four and five thousand pounds. She then went up to Yarmouth to take in more cargo, the insurances on the ship being at the same time doubled. Then the supercargo was changed. The *Adventure* sailed for Yarmouth and got as far as Deal, but then returned to Aldeborough for no apparent reason. Then back again to the Downs, and when she sailed the first action of Captain Codling was to bring a keg of rum on deck and to serve a generous tot to all hands. The ship began to founder off Brighton in calm water, while the captain and crew took the first opportunity of abandoning her and making themselves comfortable in the Old Ship Inn. The whole business was so suspicious that the underwriters immediately sent down a sea captain to look into the matter, and he immediately made preparations to get the brig on to the beach. As soon as this was done, a number of auger holes were discovered in the ship's sides. The owners, supercargo, and Captain Codling were tried at the Old Bailey, the supercargo being acquitted, the captain hanged at Execution Dock, and the two owners getting off on a skilfully pleaded point of law. Their defence caused a new Act to be passed which made scuttling a very much more difficult and risky business.

Pilferage.

The amount of pilfering that went on in the river Thames, and indeed in every other port, at that time was colossal. It began with all sorts of perquisites that were regarded as legal rights; for instance, the mates of merchant ships claimed the right to the possession of the sweepings of the hold, sweepings that naturally consisted of a large proportion of the cargo that had dropped out of various packages. With this right they were not slow to take very good care that the packages were broken, the loss falling on their unfortunate employers. This is only one instance of a score of such cases that were really nothing more than robbery, but every harbour worker and most of the sea and revenue personnel were concerned in it. The heaviest sufferers from pilfering were the West Indiamen, with the East Indiamen next, in spite of the elaborate precautions that they took, and the American ships following

soon after them. Even the coasting trade, which was mostly in coal, lost heavily, and the total estimate was rather more than half a million pounds in the year stolen from the London River alone. A celebrated case of pilferage in 1794 may be quoted. A small West Indiaman arrived from Antigua with 70 hogsheads of sugar; five had already been stolen before she found her moorings, and, warned by this, the captain approached the revenue officers for their advice, as he said that he did not trust any of the dockers. In order to oblige him, these officers of the Crown were willing to unload the ship themselves—for a consideration, needless to say. He was delighted at the idea and gladly fell in with the proposal, but they managed to steal another five hogsheads before they were finished.

Scuffle-Hunters.

The lowest class of the thieves' society were the dockers who went in for looting, generally known as the scuffle-hunters. They went about their work in long aprons, and as there was no proper means of searching dockers in those days as they left the port, they managed to carry away a good deal concealed under them. The lightermen also took their share, while the Peter-boatmen hung about the boat while she was afloat, and the mudlarks splashed in the mud when she was high and dry, each of them ready to make away with goods that were dropped overboard by the men in the ship. Rum was lowered overside in skins and bladders which they concealed under their clothes. All these thieves had valuable allies in the rat-catchers, who were allowed to go from ship to ship to destroy the vermin that then infested them, but who were not above making jobs for themselves by introducing large numbers of rats into a ship which they wanted to loot.

The River Pirates.

The river pirates were much more ambitious in their operations, frequently resorting to arms for the purpose of filling the barges and lighters which they used, barges and lighters that had generally been stolen first. They would steal whole barges full of merchandise, and if trade was slack in this way they would simply board a ship, overpower such watch as there might be, and take whatever they wanted. On other occasions they cut the ship's cables and made off with her anchors and some of her chain, leaving her to drift as she pleased. It must be remembered that there were no river police in those days and that the pirates had it all their own way. These river pirates, especially those who operated at night, were known as Light Horsemen, and there was a regular scale of bribes for the ship's officers and revenue officials in cases where it did not appear advisable to use force. Naturally the whole system was organised by receivers on shore, generally marine store dealers. In his account of the river Thames in 1802 Mr. Patrick Colquhoun estimated that there were practically eleven thousand river thieves of various sorts, banded together in a close organisation which made them particularly dangerous.

(Mackinerson Collection)

THE "TRUE BRITON" EAST INDIAMAN, BUILT 1790 AT DEPTFORD, DISAPPEARED BETWEEN BOMBAY AND CHINA, ON OCTOBER 13, 1809

(From an Aquatint in Colours, 15¼ x 25⅜ ins., by C. Turner,

THE "NEPTUNE," EAST INDIAMAN, BUILT 1780
(From [illegible] by [illegible] R. Dodd, 1788)

In spite of the difficulties of getting materials when so much was required by the Navy, the East Indiamen of this period were magnificent vessels.

THE "ESSEX" EAST INDIAMAN, BUILT 1780
(From an Aquatint by J. Wells after T. Luny)

(*Macpherson Collection*)

THE " BRITANNIA," EAST INDIAMAN, 1806-1809
(From a Contemporary Painting)

The Britannia *was one of the East India Company's ships. She was launched at Blackwall in* 1806 *and lost on the Goodwins three years later.*

(*Macphers* [illegible])

THE "ATLAS," EAST INDIAMAN, 26 GUNS, BUILT 1812
(From an Oil Painting by W. J. Huggins, *c.* 1820)

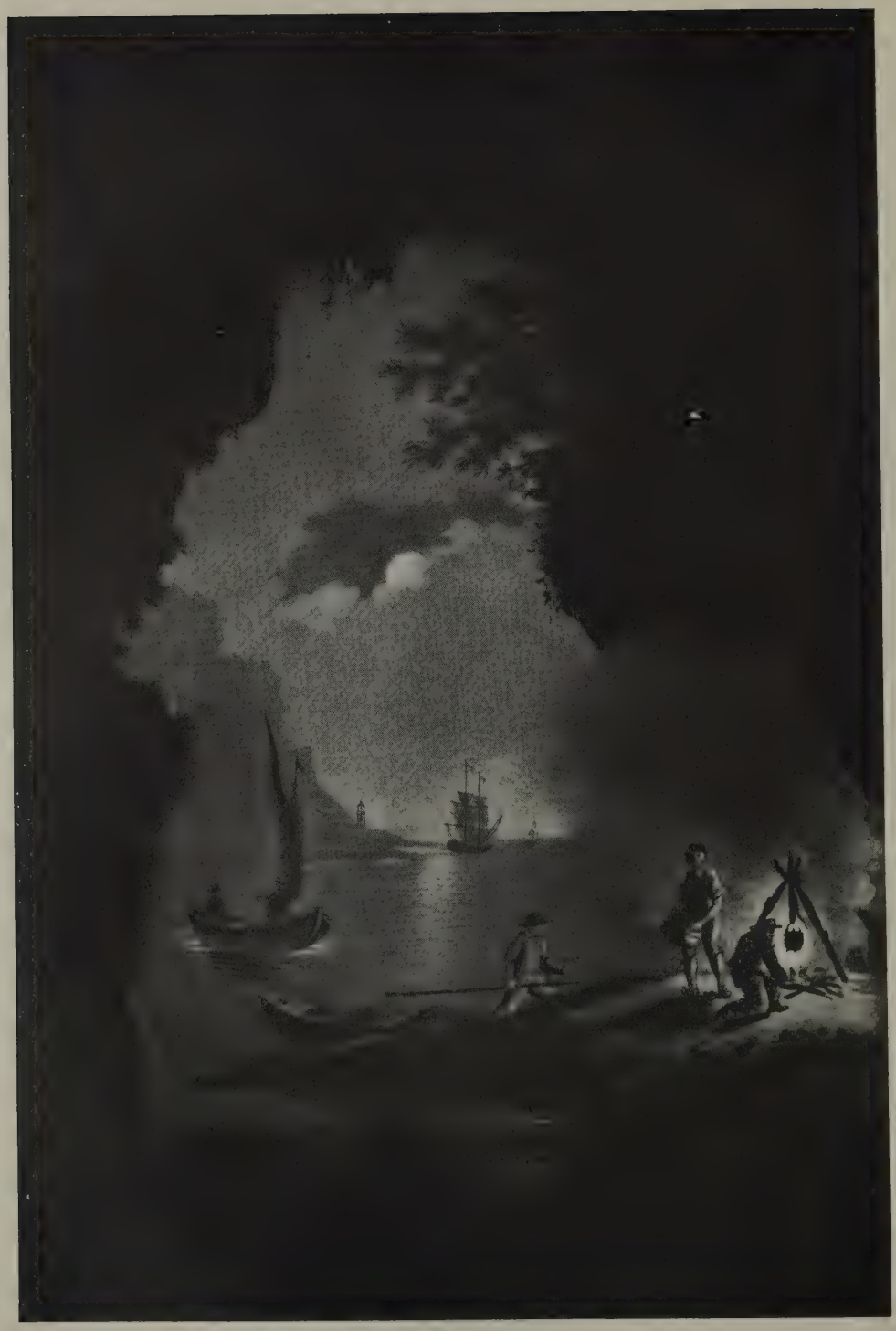
The East Indiamen were [illegible] *ships but every endeavour was made to make them look more formidable still to frighten* [illegible] *enemy privateers.*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA

Oil on canvas by Stadler, published 1810

The importance of the Atlantic trade and the War of 1812 gave a great fillip to the colony of Bermuda.

THE "GREYHOUND," EXCISE CUTTER, ON A WIND, CHASING
(From an Aquatint in Colours after T. Scutter, published 1794)



(*Macpherson Collection*)

SMUGGLERS

(From a Mezzotint in Colours after a Transparent Drawing by the Hon. Mrs. Yates, published by Orme, 1799)

Tradition always makes the smugglers of "Eighteen hundred and wartime" operate from caves, but it is rather difficult to imagine such a scene in plain view of a lighthouse.

The East India Act of 1810.

An Act of 1793 had severely curtailed the monopoly of the East India Company, but in 1810 another Act was passed which at first sight appeared to strengthen their hands but which eventually led to the abolition of this monopoly altogether. In consequence of the exigencies of war time, considerably greater latitude was allowed in the chartering of tonnage, but the Government were not allowed to forget that the Company had been of the greatest assistance to them when they were very hard put to it at sea in 1803, and the Act did not go nearly as far as its sponsors would have liked.

Anglo-American Trade Treaty of 1815.

The war between Britain and the United States ended on Christmas Eve, 1814, and in the following year a trade treaty was signed between the two countries. Great things were hoped of this agreement, but, as a matter of fact, the only really definite terms which it laid down were that the tonnage and import dues were to be equalised for the vessels of both nations, and the United States had permission to trade from their own country to the East Indies in any article not entirely prohibited. On the other hand, it left a number of questions open, and this caused any amount of trouble later on. There was the question of the boundary both in the east and in the west which was not settled for many years afterwards, the matter of the rights of neutrals, and the power of impressment. The status of blockade in international law was also left indefinite, but as these things were also left indefinite after the Great War, one cannot blame the statesmen who framed the treaty in 1815.

The Case of the "Lord Nelson."

British merchantmen were, of course, liable to attack by armed enemies all through the period, but space prohibits many instances being given. One of the many cases in which British East Indiamen suffered at the hands of the enemy occurred in August, 1803, when the East Indiaman *Lord Nelson*, mounting twenty long 18-pounders and six 12-pounders, was attacked off Brest by the French 34-gun privateer *Bellone*. In point of armament the attacker was overmatched, for only eight of her guns were of any weight, but she carried a crew of 250 men against the British ship's 102, and they were infinitely better trained and disciplined. She therefore closed her distance as soon as possible and boarded. She was repulsed, but on the second occasion she was carried after five British seamen had been killed and over thirty wounded. Thirty-one men were put on board and she was taken to Corunna, but soon fell in with a British frigate. Knowing that she had the heels of such a ship, the *Bellone* hotly engaged her enemy in order to give her prize a chance of getting to port, but in the meantime a little Plymouth privateer named the *Thomas and John*, mounting nothing heavier than 6-pounders, attempted for over an hour to retake her. Later the 18-gun sloop *Seagull* also attempted it, but she also was forced to break off the action in order to carry out repairs. When these were effected, however, she resumed the chase, but the *Lord Nelson* was cut off

by a British squadron of four line-of-battle ships. She surrendered to Commander Burke of the *Seagull*, which, considering the gallant way in which he had tackled a ship of such superior force, was just as it should be.

CHAPTER XII—SEA LAWBREAKERS

Smugglers and Yachtsmen.

The development of the sailing yacht in British waters was very severely handicapped by the laws and regulations which the Government were forced to put into operation against the smugglers. As it had been proved time and again that the smuggling vessels were nearly all capable of showing the revenue cutters a clean pair of heels in most weathers, the authorities attempted to suppress free trading by instituting limits beyond which vessels were not allowed to hover, that is to say, to cruise without any definite business, on pain of forfeiture. In 1784 twelve miles was the limit from the shore; in 1802 it was sixteen, and some time afterwards 300. But in the meantime yachts built for racing or pleasure cruising had been so severely discouraged that they had practically disappeared. Another strong discouragement of yachting during this period was that enemy privateers, both American and French, made their captures well inside the Channel.

The Fate of Captured Smugglers.

Generally speaking it was ordered that all ships captured smuggling were to be sold with the proviso that they should be broken up. Buyers were to undertake to separate the planks, unhinge the rudders, unship the windlass, remove the stern post and saw through the keel in three places. Later these regulations were amended and in certain circumstances captured smugglers were allowed to be sold for use as privateers. It was a curious thing, however, that most of the ships so sold went back to their old business, so that a new set of breaking-up regulations were established which provided a very solemn ritual. When a ship was condemned the customs were to take out her ballast, masts, pumps and bulkheads. They then ripped up her decks fore and aft, sawed the beams, ripped off a proportion of the bottom planks, cut through the keel in four separate places, and the stern post in three. After that one can quite understand that it was far less trouble to build a new boat than to attempt to refit one that had been condemned.

Smuggling into Australia.

When they had tackled the problem of maintaining discipline among the convicts, the next trouble of the Australian administration was to put down smuggling. Naturally enough, liquor had been strictly prohibited among the transportees, and it was difficult enough to get among the free labourers. Therefore rum soon fetched a very high price and there was good money to be made in smuggling it. The New South Wales Corps had recently been raised with the idea of relieving the Royal Marines of some of their duties in keeping order and guarding the prisoners, but in raising it the authorities had to be content with the

material that was to be had, and men were given commissions who were in no way fitted to bear them. These officers promptly formed themselves into an organisation for smuggling rum and even for distilling a raw spirit ashore. Commander Philip King, the naval officer who was the third Governor of New South Wales, set himself to stamp out this traffic and soon had the Corps in open revolt. The Governor dealt with the matter firmly and was getting the upper hand when he had his opportunity of leaving the colony and decided to take it, being succeeded by Captain William Bligh, who by his brutality had caused the mutiny in H.M.S. *Bounty*, and who had then shown magnificent seamanship in the finest small boat voyage in history.

The Encouragement of Smuggling.

During the Napoleonic Wars the smugglers certainly took away from England certain commodities in exchange for the silk and brandy that they brought across from France, but most of the payments were made in cash, and it was estimated in the year 1800 that some ten or twelve thousand guineas in gold were carried by smugglers to the Continent every week. Naturally this made a huge drain on British resources and was of equal advantage to France, while the commodities that it bought could not have been sent out of the country in any other way. First of all Napoleon gave the smugglers a certain quarter in the town of Dunkirk, but they were not content with this and appear to have rioted all over the town. At times there were about 500 of them in the town, and as they were all reckless, dare-devil fellows, the French soon found them unwelcome neighbours. They therefore gave them a camp just outside Gravelines and the town of Roscoff.

Riding Officers.

The riding officers were established at the end of the seventeenth century for the purpose of preventing the unauthorised export of wool to the Continent, the inadequacy of the numbers voted being to a certain extent compensated for by the fact that they had the right to call upon the nearest dragoons, who started as mounted infantry, for assistance. It may be mentioned, however, that this assistance was not readily given. The officers hated the service and found every excuse for withholding their men; the men were generally good friends of the smugglers and knew that they could rely upon them for a plentiful supply of cheap liquor if they left them undisturbed.

A Smuggler's Flag.

It was obvious that the British revenue authorities could not stop foreign ships on the high seas just as they pleased, and in order to arrest a foreign ship for smuggling it was necessary that she should be caught actually landing the goods on the British coast. It was not by any means difficult to attain citizenship in Ostend in times of peace, and although a man might be obviously English and rejoice in the name of Smith, he could produce papers proving his French nationality, and for an officer to search him was to invite all sorts of legal difficulties. The studied decision of the Attorney-General was that a ship was liable to

forfeit only is she were the property in whole or in part of British subjects, but that in cases in which the crew appeared to be British there were reasonable grounds for taking the ship into port in order that she might be given the opportunity of proving that she belonged entirely to foreigners. At the same time, to do so was a grave risk on the officer's part.

The Preventive Water Guard.

In 1805 it was felt that Napoleon was getting far too much assistance from the British smugglers, not only by reason of the gold which he was draining out of the country, but also by the assistance that was given to his espionage system. Accordingly the riding officers and revenue cruisers were reinforced by a new Preventive Water Guard, which patrolled the entire coast in three districts. The first was from Carlisle to Land's End, the second from Land's End to the North Foreland, and the third from the North Foreland to Berwick; and in addition to assisting the existing authorities, the inspecting commanders had strict orders to keep them under surveillance and report on their conduct and capabilities. These stations supported both cruisers and boats. Although this service was designed to cut out many of the abuses of the existing service, it did very little to reduce smuggling.

The Foundation of the Coastguard.

Towards the end of the Napoleonic Wars it was obvious that the Customs and Excise officers on shore and the revenue cruisers afloat were not in any way capable of protecting the King's revenue and preventing smuggling as they should have done. Therefore, H.M.S. *Ramillies,* of 74 guns, was placed in the Downs, and the 42-gun frigate *Hyperion* at Newhaven, while the greater part of their crews were landed and put in the Martello Towers which had been built along the coast for the prevention of invasion, stations being built only where these towers did not exist. Each tower was in the charge of a petty officer with a few men, and each group of towers was under a naval lieutenant who was generally old for his rank and had very little chance of promotion. The men were not the best in the fleet, for the service was unpopular and the volunteers generally took the step for the purpose of being able to augment their income by joining the smugglers. Breaches of discipline, which appear to have been very frequent, were punished with the lash on board the two ships. This form of coast blockade lasted until well into the next period, when it was replaced by what later developed into the magnificent coastguard force.

The Case of the "Swan," Revenue Cuttter.

Generally speaking, the revenue officers proved themselves to be willing enough to fight, but the case of the *Swan,* in March, 1807, was one of the worst blots on the record of the service. She was quite a big vessel, being of 154 tons burthen, armed with two long nines, twelve 4-pounders on the broadside, and a crew of 23 men. Her captain was named Comben, and hearing at Swanage of the presence of three notorious smugglers, he refused the assistance of the local Sea Fencibles

on the ground that he did not think he could tackle three ships. Next day, off the Needles, he fell in with the three, but made not the least effort to clear for action or receive them. Happily, his men were made of rather better stuff, and fought them for nearly an hour without any instructions, until finally Comben struck with his own hand. His crew then had a poetic revenge, for, instead of giving themselves up to the smugglers, they made off in the cutter's boats and left Comben to face his late enemies as best he could. They showed their contempt for him by marooning him in France, where he was detained for seven years, and very properly broken at the end of that term.

Smugglers in the Navy.

There was a good deal of very ill feeling between the naval authorities and those of the revenue service, for the former regarded the newer service as interlopers, and seldom offered them very much assistance. It was in order to overcome this opposition that the revenue officers were given orders to take as many smugglers prisoner as was possible, handing them over to the nearest King's ship for naval service. This made them rather more popular, for the Navy was always chronically short of men and these unwilling recruits were practically all prime seamen. The result was that they were speedily promoted to petty officers, and the scheme which the Admiralty had during the war of naming steam trawlers after the petty officers of the *Victory* and *Royal Sovereign* at Trafalgar revealed a remarkable number of traditional smuggling names, and also names with a very strong foreign tang about them. The reason of this was that it was nearly always the smugglers who were promoted to higher rank, so much so that the honest pressed men and volunteers in the fleet finally saw fit to address a petition to their lordships in which they prayed that no more smugglers should be promoted, as the honest man never got a chance.

Naval Bounties for Smugglers.

One can well imagine that, after the free and easy life of a smuggler, the iron discipline of a man-of-war was the one thing that the free trader dreaded above all. Therefore, in addition to the fact that he was an exceedingly useful sailor, the authorities had a very good reason for transferring as many as possible to the King's service, and accordingly a system of bounties was established, by which the captain of the cutter which handed over the largest number of smugglers in the course of the year found it well worth his while. In 1810 the captain of the cutter *Viper* received £500 for 13 smugglers, but it was more usual for a cutter to transfer four or five. In 1812 the regulations were slightly altered, so that £500 was paid to the officer commanding a revenue cutter who should in one year transfer to the Navy the greatest number of smugglers, not being fewer than 20. If the number was less than 20 but more than 15 the reward was £300, and less than 15 but more than 10, it was £200. Later it was ordered that these rewards should be divided among the crews of the cutters concerned in much the same way as prize money.

The Guernsey Trade.

The Channel Islanders were always partial to smuggling, and the constitution that they possessed gave them unlimited opportunities in this direction. Occasionally they smuggled across to the Hampshire, Sussex and Kentish coasts, but, generally speaking, their district was Devonshire and Cornwall, where the entire population was just as keen on the principles of free trade. The spirits were specially made up in small casks, and the boats which ran the cargoes across the Channel were remarkably small for their work. Nominally they were fishing boats and they ran up to a maximum of 10 tons, carrying their cargo into every little inlet on the West coast, where it was dropped overboard and was later fished for. In the bigger ports smuggling was done on a much bigger scale, boats running up to 50 and 70 tons being used for the purpose, while those which hailed from Polperro and Mevagissey were even bigger and were celebrated for their speed. In Guernsey there are still to be seen the huge cellars that were hewn in the solid rock during the smuggling days, and so jealous were they of the privileges of their constitution that the Channel Island forts, manned by British subjects under the British flag, actually had orders to fire on any British cruiser that dared to pursue a British smuggler within their territorial limits. Needless to say, there were huge profits in the business.

The Alternative to the Channel Islands.

Smuggling from the Channel Islands had grown into such a scandal that in 1800 the Government sent over a Mr. Stiles as Commissioner, who found things quite as bad as they had been painted. He immediately set about destroying the Channel Islands smuggling trade, in spite of the fact that the authorities on the islands put forward a most naïve plea that it should be retained. They made no secret that they were smugglers, but merely pointed out how they had thriven on the trade and how they would suffer if it were stopped. However, stopped it was, and immediately the French Government supplied an alternative, opening several of its ports to the smugglers, in spite of the fact that war was in progress. Of these ports the principal was Roscoff, a little village that was speedily converted into a smugglers' paradise, in which they were given every protection and could not be molested in any way whatever.

The Risks of the Revenue Service.

In the game of smuggling the odds were nearly all in favour of the free traders, and with the French authorities actively assisting them one can understand the exasperation of the revenue officers and the willingness of most of them to stretch the regulations to breaking point in order to make a capture. Soon after the Peace of 1785 the French Government informed our Ambassador in Paris that certain British revenue officers had actually landed on French soil in pursuit of smugglers, and that, if this occurred again and they were caught by the French, they would most certainly be hanged out of hand. After that, regulations were published which enforced a more strict regard for territorial rights.

A Customs Scandal.

Naturally, it was very difficult to man the revenue and preventive services when the Navy was so hungry for the best seamen in the country, and it is not surprising that there were a good many scandals about dereliction of duty and misuse of power. It was very seldom that there was a case as bad as that of the cutter *Hunter*, which occurred in the North Sea the day before the Battle of Trafalgar. The master was named Riches and the mate Oliver, and, falling in with the Danish ship *Three Sisters*, proceeding upon her lawful occasions, these two precious gentlemen threatened the captain until he handed over four cases of liquor. The mate seems to have been the moving spirit in this, for in the subsequent proceedings it was proved that he had smuggled two cases ashore at Yarmouth, while the captain only took one. The fourth had evidently been consumed on board. Reading the case nowadays, it certainly seems that these two officers were very lucky to get off with dismissal from the Customs service.

The Regulations of 1807.

In the year 1807 the Customs authorities determined to put the service on a better footing, and therefore issued an entirely new set of regulations by Order in Council. The assistance of the dragoons and military was to be encouraged by the payment of rewards—until then there had been little enough co-operation between the two forces—and the pay of the department's own personnel was to be improved and regulated. Among numerous other rules it is rather amusing to notice that it is specially laid down that, when any spirits were seized, the first duty of the responsible officer was to test their strength and record it. The authorities had suddenly awakened to the fact that their servants had been in the habit of capturing spirits, drawing off a large proportion for their own use or for sale, and then filling up the casks with water. These regulations were followed up by an Act of Parliament.

A Dungeness Incident.

As showing how cargoes were run while the King's officers were supposed to be busy with his enemies, an incident that occurred off Dungeness in February, 1805, may be recorded at some length. The cutters *Tartar* and *Lively* were cruising off the Point when they observed the big three-masted lugger *Diana* heading for the beach. Not willing to risk the cutters, boats were lowered and pulled towards the *Diana*, which beached herself just as the revenue men drew up to her. As the boats came alongside, the smugglers jumped into the shallow water, but they had already signalled their friends on shore and almost as soon as the revenue people discovered that they had a valuable prize laden with over a thousand casks of liquor they were surrounded by a large and angry mob. Few of them had firearms, but, as the ammunition of the revenue men had been wetted during their boat trip, this was no very great disadvantage and they made full use of their bludgeons and cutlasses. There was, however, some firing, and at last the *Tartar's* men decided that they must retire. Her captain, however, had too

much spirit to go in his boat, so forced his way through the crowd on the beach to a neighbouring barracks, where a detachment of militia was stationed. There he borrowed a guard of soldiers and returned to the attack, dispersing the smugglers and their friends, but not before a certain amount of the liquor had been removed. A reward of £200 was offered for the capture of any of the culprits, but it was not until nine years afterwards that two men were captured at Lydd. There was not the least doubt that they were ringleaders of the smugglers' party, but they had to be tried locally and the whole of Romney Marsh was strongly in sympathy with the smugglers, with the result that they were honourably acquitted.

Luggers' Licences.

All sorts of craft were employed in smuggling, but it was usually the big luggers, such as one still finds on the French coast. During the Napoleonic wars, therefore, they were given licences, without which they were not supposed to be at sea at all. These licences were dependent entirely on the ship never being convicted of smuggling, and it limited their navigation to within a certain distance of the British coast. When the licence was delivered the master had to enter into a bond, which was forfeit if she broke the conditions of the agreement. It need hardly be said that most of the luggers that took out licences did so merely with the idea of giving themselves a certain amount of protection in carrying on the business of smuggling.

The Eighteenth-Century Pirates.

Generally speaking, the end of the century was a very blank period for piracy, certainly for interesting piracy, for these gentlemen have never flourished very much in war time. There were, of course, many freebooters of various sorts, but they were most of them small fry who went out in a shore boat and simply looted any merchantman that was rash enough to come within their reach. The bigger gentry of the profession, with one or two rather conspicuous exceptions, were all busy either in the fighting navies of their various kings, or else serving as privateers. Such as had no stomach for this sort of work had ample opportunity of getting a very good living in merchantmen who were working at war-time premiums, while generally the merchantmen that were worth taking were so well armed for the purpose of beating off enemy privateers that they were in a position to give the pirate a very much warmer reception than he had any liking for. Therefore, the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars may be regarded as a very blank spell from the point of view of piracy in home waters, although there was a certain amount done in the East and West Indies and along the South American coast.

END OF VOL. III.

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